

Tennis Sydney International

Henman breaks down the barriers

Martin Palmer in Sydney

AND FOR my next act... well, it's going to be hard to avoid a letdown. Tim Henman's victory in the final of the Sydney International last Saturday means that in the opening two weeks of 1997 he has achieved his objectives for the year: a first tournament victory on the senior tour and a place in the world's top 20.

Henman, the beaten finalist in the Qatar Open the week before, dropped his serve in the third game at the White City stadium, but dominated the final from then on to beat 20-year-old Carlos Moya 6-3 6-1 and rise to 14th in the rankings. Moya, incidentally, is one of 14 Spaniards in the top 100 compared with Britain's two (Henman and Greg Rusedski).

The match was played in blustery conditions and while Moya's frustration mounted, particularly as his powerful forehand was blown off course, Henman kept his composure. The British No 1's consistently deep approach shots allowed him to get to the net and maintain the pressure on his opponent, who was swept away in the second set.

The exotically named Dr Wilberforce Vaughan Eaves, who was born in Australia but played in Britain's Davis Cup team, was the last British player to win the event, 95 years ago.

"It's great to come away with the

title. This is definitely extra special," Henman said after his 52-minute destruction of an opponent ranked 28th in the world. "It was a mental battle with the wind and I was a little nervous. It was a question of overcoming that."

Henman, who won \$46,000, said his next aim was to break into the top 10 and that he was unconcerned about the pressure this put on him. "You have to set targets for yourself. When you achieve them you go back to the drawing board and set them higher, and I'll set them for the top 10."

Looking back at tennis in Britain, we have struggled as a nation in this respect. It's obviously satisfying to put tennis back on the map, and I hope to do that for many more years."

Britain's Davis Cup coach, David Lloyd, said: "It is great for British tennis and great for Tim himself because, not only was this his first tournament win, but he has played exceptionally well. He demolished Moya in the second set; it was a great performance."

"Confidence-wise he is at the top of his game right now. When you are confident and believe in yourself, all the other little things, like jet-lag, you forget."

Lloyd's reference to jet-lag followed Henman's dash from the Middle East after losing to Jim Courier in the Qatar Open final to be in time for his opening match here. He

arrived just in time to beat the Italian Renzo Furlan in straight sets, and then met three opponents of the highest quality: Sergi Bruguera, Alex O'Brien and Goran Ivanisevic. Against each of these he dropped the first set before turning things around through his own positive approach rather than through any unenforced subsidence by his opponent.

Henman's cool powers of recovery were at their most effective against Ivanisevic, the world No 3, whose most memorable achievement ultimately was to demolish one of the hi-tech rackets built to withstand his thunderous serving. From 6-6 in the second set, Henman allowed Ivanisevic just one point in the tiebreak and one game in the deciding set. — *The Observer*

Stephen Brierley adds: When Australia's Mark Philippoussis pulled out of the Australian Open last Sunday with a damaged right arm, some Australian tennis commentators saw something sinister behind the 20-year-old's withdrawal from the Grand Slam tournament, which began on Monday.

The conspiracy theory is the once Philippoussis, referred to as everybody's "Scud" because of exceptional serve and power, is that Britain's Tim Henman had decided that, rather than suffer the ignominy of losing to a Pom in the first round, he would pull out.

However, the explanation offered by Philippoussis may be nearer the truth: "Things seemed to be going along well but the pain came back while I was practising. It is a bit disappointing not to play but because this is my city and the courts, but I have managed to get ahead of me and it would be to jeopardise my future."

Rugby Union International: Wales 34 United States 12

Wales decline to hurt Eagles

David Plummer in Cardiff

WALES were encouraged, the United States were disappointed and the paltry crowd of 13,500 left the National Stadium last Saturday deflated after watching a match that reflected Wales's decline in the past decade. When these sides last met, 10 years ago, the Eagles were beaten by 46 points. Wales took the opportunity, against opponents not expected to put up much of a struggle, to show off their new game. This involves scoring tries, something Wales have not been very good at for quite a while.

They registered four against the Eagles: the first came after a forward pass; the second followed a remarkable plouette from the captain Scott Gibbs after he had again had to pluck a pass from his shoelaces; the third occurred after some US defenders had been drawn into a dispute after some illegal blocking by Wales and the fourth was a penalty try.

New game? The best try of the afternoon was scored by the US, a sweeping 75-yard counter-attack after Wales had been caught in possession where the key was the awareness of players running off the ball.

Wales, for all their attacking intent, were too predictable.

They ran largely in straight lines and it was only when Cliff Quinnett entered the action 10 minutes from the end that a forward varied his angles of approach and made defenders think.

The statistics told the story. The Wales scrum-half Robert Howley received the ball 78 times; his opposite number Andre Bachelet, the Eagles' try scorer, had it in his hands on 31 occasions. The US tended to concede penalties and turned the ball over time and again in the loose, so Wales were on the front foot for virtually the entire 80 minutes.

The more ball they won, the more Eagles' deficiencies were exposed, yet Wales failed to profit much. Too many of their forwards do not run with the ball in their hands and the reliance on the brute strength of someone like Scott Quinnett to batter a hole in a stout defence betrayed a lack of thought as well as a pack ill-equipped for Bowring's new game.

Welsh players used to have a native instinct for the game. The worry for them is that countries like the US, led by the impressive Bath flanker Dan Lyle, and Canada are fast closing on the weaker major European teams. Western Samoa have already forged ahead.

Insider Learning English
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Week ending January 28, 1997

Lords savage Tory bill on police bugging

Alan Travis

THE UK government this week suffered a humiliating defeat when the House of Lords rejected its plans to allow police to authorise their own operations to "bug and burgle" homes and offices.

Peers backed by 209 to 145 a Labour move to ensure prior authorisation of such "intrusive surveillance" operations against serious crime by a panel of senior judges serving as security commissioners.

The Lords went on to inflict a second defeat on the Home Secretary, Michael Howard, when they backed by 158 votes to 137 a Liberal Democrat amendment calling for prior approval to be given by circuit judges.

The principal issue was power for the police to mount more than 2,000 such operations a year without prior approval of a judicial authority. It was defeated by a cross-party alliance that included former Home Secretaries, a former Attorney-General, a serving law lord, and the current chairman of the Security Commission, which oversees the security services. They argued that giving police the right to authorise their own "bug and burgle" operations was a fundamental infringement of civil liberty.

During the debate, two former Home Secretaries, Labour's Lord Callaghan and the Conservative Lord Carr, said they were astonished to discover in recent weeks that police bugging operations had reached "alarming proportions".

Lord Callaghan said: "I was astonished to read that there were 2,000 warrants being issued every year. I am flabbergasted by this." He said the current law gave greater protection to foreign agents who were bugged by the security services than to an ordinary citizen whose homes were the subject of surveillance by the police.

The two defeats on Monday night were a major setback for Mr Howard's Police Bill. Talks will now be held to attempt to reconcile the Labour and Liberal Democrat amendments, which both form part of the bill.



Bill Clinton points to the crowds during his speech after being sworn in on Capitol Hill on Monday. PHOTOGRAPH GARY HERSHORN

A failure of inspiration

EDITORIAL

BILL CLINTON spoke on Monday to kitchen-table America, but there wasn't much on the plate. To the families who make plans over supper, he offered a land of new promise and security. He congratulated them on a successful American century; the next one would be even more successful and even more American. The poor and hungry hardly got a look in.

A second-term address suffers because it cannot be honest about failure so far. Only in speaking of the "dark impulses" of racism did he focus on America's real problems. But he moved on quickly to the great new era of the Internet.

There was a warning that the world may not be quite such a happy place when he spoke of its "fractured nations" — but no prescription for action. It was a picture almost wholly devoid of detail except the statistically dubious claim that more people live under democracy than under dictatorship.

Mr Clinton had tolled over this speech for weeks. It showed. The phrases designed to uplift were laborious: the pauses for applause were forced. Inaugurals are not about serious policy, but Mr Clinton tried too hard for his memorable line. It was an uninspired inspirationalism, a Johnny Appleseed view of human progress.

Martin Walker, page 6

Swedes get crisp message with free calls

Jon Henley in Helsinki

SO THERE you are, whispering sweet nothings down the line to your loved one, when in butts a stranger. A crossed line? An errant operator? No, a commercial break for bacon crisps.

In Sweden, it seems, listening to advertisements is a small price to pay for an otherwise free phone call. And the idea could be coming soon to a line near you. "It's going to be huge," said Peter Broden of Grattatelen, a

Stockholm company that recently became the world's first to offer free calls to anyone willing to put up with adverts.

"People aren't irritated by it at all... And advertisers love it — they get a captive audience," he said.

Nearing the end of a three-month trial in the towns of Lund and Norrköping, where it is generating about 30,000 calls a day, the service should become available throughout Sweden in the next few weeks, Mr Broden said.

Callers dial a toll-free access number and give a computer the number they want. A 10-second advert plays while they are connected, another after a minute, and a new one every three minutes thereafter.

Advertisers include a snack manufacturer, a cinema chain and a children's charity.

Between 10 and 15 telecommunications companies around Europe have expressed a keen interest in applying the idea, Mr Broden said.

Arafat gets muted Hebron greeting

A cloud of suspicion hangs over the West Bank, reports Ian Black

HEBRON is not a particularly happy place at the best of times, and even the arrival of Yasser Arafat — "brother, commander, symbol and liberator" according to the banners strung across the streets — did little to lift the sombre mood last Sunday.

This was partly due to Ramadan: fasting from dawn to dusk is trying for even the most devout Muslim — and Hebron is a conservative city which takes its religion seriously. The muezzin calls the faithful to prayer seven times a day instead of the usual five.

But, as Palestinians insisted to the army of journalists soliciting their views on Abu Anwar — Mr Arafat's nom de guerre from the days 20 years ago when he was trying to rally armed resistance to the Israeli occupation of the West Bank — hunger is not the main problem.

"Of course I am happy to see President Arafat," said Idris Zahadi, as he walked home along Shuhada Street, blocked at both ends by Israeli army checkpoints protecting the homes of Hebron's Jewish settlers. "But I am not happy because the road to my house is closed. Half of this city is still under occupation."

Mr Zahadi was exaggerating, but only a little: under last week's long-delayed redeployment agreement 20 per cent of Hebron — an area that is home to 15,000 Arabs as well as 450 Jewish settlers — and the Tomb of the Patriarchs, holy to both religions, remain under Israeli control, a little Berlin-style enclave in the heart of a bitter, riven city.

Nothing that has happened since dawn on Friday last week — when most of the Israelis moved out and the Palestinian Authority took over with its uniforms, flags and symbols of a cherished independence — has been able to heal that sore.

Mr Arafat was low-key, almost conciliatory, on this most sensitive of points as he addressed a crowd of some 50,000 outside the old Israeli military headquarters after flying in by helicopter from Ramallah, liberated a year ago.

"From here in Hebron I say to the settlers, we don't want confrontation," he boomed out over the loudspeakers, using his old trick of simply repeating himself for effect and wagging his finger for further emphasis. "We want peace, but a just peace." He said this three times.

Palestinians who turned out were more curious than ecstatic, though they waved flags and chanted the obligatory slogan — "In spirit and fire we will redeem you" — as his Mercedes, groaning under the weight of his bodyguards, nosed its way from the helipad to his new headquarters.

It was Mr Arafat the statesman at work last Sunday, cleverly addressing those Israelis who are still shocked by a Likud government abandoning its faith in a God-given land to fulfil an agreement made by its Labour predecessor — and who do not trust him an inch.

"We are making a peace with all the Israelis, not only with Labour but now with the Likud too, with every Israeli," the Palestinian leader declared, smiling as he paid tribute to the 87 members of the 120-seat Israeli parliament who approved an agreement that should — should — keep negotiations moving. "Now we can say we are friends and partners in the peace process."

Many Israelis here will need much more convincing than that if they are to overcome their suspicions. Their leader, Rabbi Moshe Levinger — who started it all when he arrived at Hebron's Park Hotel at Passover in 1968 in the first months of Israeli rule to pray in the tomb of the Patriarchs and renew the Jewish presence in the ancient city — is clearly preparing for a long haul.

For Palestinians, hopes of independence are coupled with fears of a trap that will choke Palestinian aspirations for good. This is felt more strongly in Hebron than anywhere, for just as their leader broke his fast with the traditional meal, coaches were collecting skull-capped boys brought in from settlements elsewhere in what they call Judea and Samaria — the West Bank — to fly their flag and pray on the Jewish side of the Tomb of the Patriarchs. "I don't know why Arafat is here," pronounced one boy, a flawless American English. "Is it his country?"

Comment, page 14

Killers stalk genocide witnesses 3

South Africa's soldiers of fortune 8

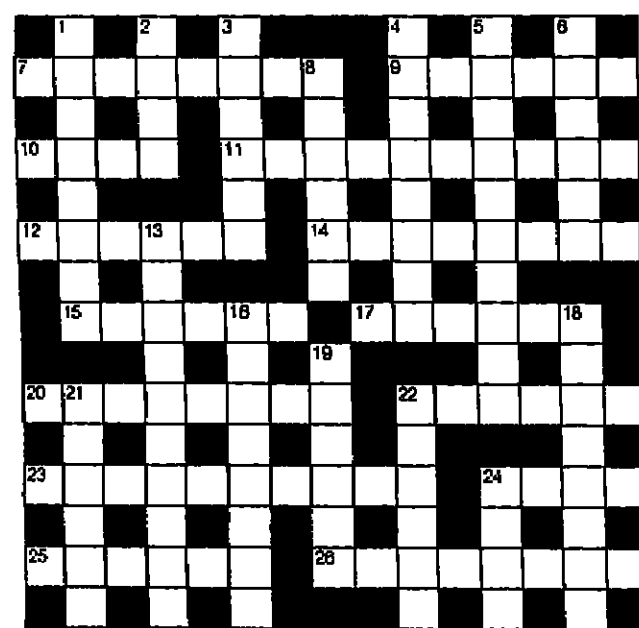
Labour bids for tax heaven 12

Princess Di enters moral minefield 14

Lives lost in an uncaring sea 29

Austria	AS30	Malta	50c
Belgium	BF75	Netherlands	G 4.75
Denmark	DK16	Norway	NK 16
Finland	FM10	Portugal	E300
France	FF13	Saudi Arabia	SR 6.50
Germany	DM4	Spain	P 300
Greece	DR 450	Sweden	SK 19
Italy	L 3,000	Switzerland	SF 3.30

Cryptic crossword by Araucaria



Across

- 7 He brings news about beer (8)
9 Spiked hairpiece through which to eavesdrop (8)
10 See 24 across
11, 12 Buttery bank: the Guardian will be first for tax with no capital (10, 8)
14 Temporary housing area: I forgot to say it came about (8)
15 Hold Greek character in a row (8)
17 Affront in month that's incomplete for its predecessor (8)
20 Russian paper, size 6, at work (8)

Down

- 22 Street song or catch? (8)
23 Sea-captain moving a metre? (10)
24, 10 Wild flower flourished, one unknown to our era before (8)
25 Urge to initiate labour (8)
26 Make it impossible for Mrs Grundy to eat half a cream cake (8)

Down

- 1 Fit leader for the drop of a bucket? (4-4)
2 See 6
3, 22 down Convulsion in heaven's

Last week's solution

CRINGE FROWNS
O R F I A U
ANTI EXORBITANT
Y NE LA O B
BOUGHT LONOPRS
U E O D W O
BREAKDOWN BOOT
N I R
CRAW UNRIOTED
O L A G A V
BUNGLOW INDEED
P E C I M R E
CONCERNED LUTU
N I N H L O
SECRET STOLEN

Zero tolerance for Blair's simplistic approach

TONY BLAIR's support for zero tolerance should be of great concern to all of us (The Week in Britain, January 19). While none of us in Britain wants to be harassed as we walk down streets blighted by graffiti, the only real solution is to provide the resources to house the homeless, to provide work for those who are unemployed and to make the streets safer.

Decisions about resource allocation is one thing, but there is something more important going on here. Many people are becoming increasingly uncomfortable with the approach of politicians who propose that all problems are dealt with by more laws, more criminal offences, more prosecutions, fewer rights for suspects and harsher penalties.

John Wadhvani,
Director, Liberty, London

A SA TEENAGER, I was a homeless beggar in London, having run away from an abusive home in the Northeast. Our Christmas survey of people sleeping rough in Cambridge showed that large proportions of people are mentally ill and unable to fit into an increasingly intolerant society that seeks simplistic solutions, symptomatic of the Blair tendency.

I know of one man sleeping rough who has been in and out of London psychiatric hospitals for treatment following several suicide attempts. He hasn't made contact with any psychiatric facilities since his arrival in Cambridge four months ago.

The rehabilitation of people like him will require slow and patient work from an already enormously cash-strapped health and local

authority. To tackle these issues requires some intellectual activity rather than an addiction to quick fixes. This is a lesson that Blair and the shadow cabinet need to learn quickly.

(Prof) David Brandon,
Anglia Polytechnic University,
Cambridge

TONY BLAIR's latest outpourings follow the now-familiar pattern of New Labour — aping the worst instincts of the Tories. This seems strange since opinion polls consistently suggest the population wants a change from the self-centred brutality the Tory party have long represented.

One can only assume that Labour believes the votes of liberal-minded people can be taken for granted. As a result, they are dedicating all their efforts to attracting people from outside their natural constituency, such as bigots.

Albert Ravey,
Cottingham, Hull

YOU WILL notice that low crime figures quoted in support of zero crime tolerance are always absolute. Convert those crime figures to relative figures, ie, crimes per 1,000 young men aged 15-25, and you will get a different story.

New York's best-kept secret is that just now there's a dip in the percentage of young men that make up the city's population — hence the amazing drop in crime. As the young male population increases again, the zero-tolerance campaign will be seen to be the sham it is.

S Hills,
London

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No free trade without freedom

A CARTOON in the January 12 issue shows President Clinton dazed by treasure labelled "China Trade", while behind his back a Chinese pirate makes "Human Rights" walk the plank. I wonder if the riches that blind Mr Clinton and the other Western leaders to the evils of the communist system are genuine, or are they selling their self-respect for fool's gold? China is less a market than a sweatshop.

I understand that the balance of trade between the United States and China is heavily in the latter's favour. We have been told often enough that a negative balance of trade with China is an economic disaster; why is a negative trade balance so good as to overwhelm our concern for China's human rights record? There are some large corporations that have made large profits selling to China. But these few cases do not alter the overall picture — except to a politician, who deals in special interests.

On the other side of the trade balance, Western consumers benefit from cheap goods imported from China — goods manufactured under a regime that relies on force to produce them. Our consumption makes us complicit in the crimes of that regime. Moreover, in a world of "free trade", working conditions are on a slippery slope, as recent events in South Korea demonstrate. When we buy cheap goods made in China, we strengthen the system there — and encourage Western countries to degrade their own working conditions in order to compete.

Clifford Story,
West Ryde, NSW, Australia

SOUTH KOREA must realise that successful countries combine economic liberty and political freedom (Echoes of Britain in streets of Seoul, January 19). South Korean workers are not cosseted "fat cats" who simply object to the loss of their well-paid jobs.

In fact, at 49 hours a week, South Koreans work the longest official hours in the world, according to International Labour Organisation figures, and a third of their "high" wage is made up of overtime, bonuses and allowances, most of which are now threatened.

The Korean government has consistently violated international labour standards by harassing and imprisoning trade unionists. Both Korean unions are affiliated to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, although the KTUO, the independent union, which represents 500,000 workers, remains illegal, and these unions tell us that the reason for the current discontent is that workers want to be allowed to form and join trade unions to improve working conditions and health and safety.

Bill Jordan,
General Secretary, ICFTU,
Brussels, Belgium

'Them' and 'us' in Australia

TED WEBBER's comments on Australian multiculturalism (January 5) reflect the ignorance that is becoming alarmingly prevalent in John Howard's new "free speech" Australia. The temptation to seek refuge in the narrow cul-

tural assumptions of an Anglo-dominated society has proved too good to resist for the anti-political correctness brigade, and the blatantly ethnocentric arguments of this dangerously facile approach are fast becoming an everyday facet of life here.

Names may well be meaningless to Mr Webber and his ilk, but for anyone who is not a part of the arrogant cultural tradition which insists on labelling others, to be able to define oneself is an opportunity to appropriate a space alongside the so-called mainstream, and reject the implicit racism of Anglo-terminology.

Unfortunately, as long as people such as Mr Webber believe multiculturalism means that "alien cultures" must "assimilate", there is little chance of tolerance. This is because the issue is permanently trapped in the binary of "us" and "them", where the "us" is those deemed privileged simply by virtue of numerical superiority and an earlier phase of migration.

Ultimately, tolerance cannot be built upon an implicit assumption of cultural superiority: there can never be real dialogue if the dominant players always have complete control over the script.

Clare Johnson,
Kingswood, SA, Australia

Art brings colour to life

IT'S ALWAYS good to see a bit of passion, even when it is in the form of anger — as vented by Justin Martin (January 19) against what he calls the purveyors of "nonsensical rubbish" such as Warhol, Hockney and Picasso.

It is often beneficial to reflect dispassionately on our passions, elevating them to the realm of the sublime. This seems to be the function of art — to acquaint ourselves with our higher "moments".

Culture, then, is the lifeblood of humanity. And as such, it occupies a spectrum from the infrared of low pornography to ultra-violet of high abstraction. Mix a little ultra-violet with a bit of infra-red and you have the sublime sensuality of a Robert Mapplethorpe.

Far from merely redeeming the "moral reproaches" like the late and naughty Mr Mapplethorpe, there would be no Hagen-Dazs, and without Cubism, there would have been no Mondrian or Russian Constructivism — without whom/which, there would be no clear and readable papers such as the Guardian et al.

How does this help the poor and disaffected? It doesn't. But those whom it does affect have their compassionate aims and principled actions nourished by their cultural intake. The moral conviction of a stripy Barnett Newman is undeniable to those who have the insight to read. And Bob Dylan fired a number of benevolent souls.

Even when reducing this thing to Mr Martin's economic argument, one can cite the paradox of the dismay exhibited by Australians when their government purchased Jackson Pollock's "Blue Poles" for \$4 million in 1974. One day Mr Martin's "weeping Canadian taxpayers" will probably be astounded, as contemporary Australians are, by the incredibly astute investment made by their government many years before.

Duncan Thompson,
Semaphore, SA, Australia

Briefly

IN YOUR December 15 issue, two articles, one from Le Monde and one by your own reporters (Chris McGreal and David Harrison), quote the US ambassador to Zaire, Daniel S. Simpson, as saying the French "neo-colonial" role in Africa is over and as being critical of France's policy there in general. France imagines that it still is a great power. Leaving aside the matter of Africa, there is still the matter of the South Pacific, where several island groups remain French. I have a hunch that Paris is headed in the direction of trouble in Oceania, where Britain saw the light and ended its colonial rule.

William Brown,
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, USA

JOSEPH HANLON should be congratulated for reporting yet another case of the IMF's abuse of human rights, this time in Mozambique (January 12). Am I naive or should I wait for human rights bodies such as Amnesty International to condemn the IMF for its contravention of Article 23 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, among other contraventions?

Adrian Chan,
Ashfield, NSW, Australia

SHIRLEY WILLIAMS may be right about a lot of things (January 19) but one of them isn't that the world won't take Britain seriously if it divorces itself from the European Union. Germany's foreign minister, Klaus Kinkel, may have hit on the truth when stating that Britain has "blocked virtually every significant proposal" to date as the UK's fear of the EU is palpable. But for the same reason that Asians flee to Australia from adversity rather than stop at another Asian country, Britain will always be credible in the world community because of its human rights record.

Vicki Mackey,
Nedlands, Western Australia

IT WAS disappointing that there was no coverage during December of the elections in Ghana, West Africa — the good news story of a hotly contested but fair election, won by incumbent President Jerry Rawlings and his party.

Julian Hynes,
Toronto, Canada

THANK YOU for the excellent review by John Humphreys of the Guardian Year 1996 in which he raises the outrageous prospect of Nancy Banks-Smith's retirement.

Mr Humphreys declares Ms Banks-Smith a national treasure. I completely disagree. She is an international treasure who is cherished and loved by a far wider and more discriminating audience.

Robert McCulloch,
Melbourne, Australia

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The Week

AUSTRIA'S chancellor, Franz Vranitzky, astonished the country by announcing his resignation after almost 11 years.

Washington Post, page 17

IN A major U-turn, the South Korean president, Kim Young-sam, agreed to reopen debate on a controversial new labour law following more than three weeks of strikes. The president also said he would instruct officials to suspend arrest warrants served on strike leaders.

Veil of democracy, page 5

ACROWDED Cairo bus smashed through a metal fence and plunged 38 metres off a bridge into the Nile, killing at least 39 people and injuring 29 others.

A POWERFUL car bomb exploded outside a café in central Algiers, killing at least 20 people and wounding 60 — hours after Islamist rebels killed 36 people in Sidi Abdelaziz, a village 60km to the south.

A SUNNI Muslim mob in Lahore set an Iranian cultural centre on fire a day after a bomb killed 25 people and wounded at least 100 at the Lahore sessions court. The bomb exploded as two Sunni leaders arrived for trial on murder charges.

THE military commander of rebels in eastern Zaire, Andre Kaseke Ngandu, has been killed in an ambush, probably by Mai-Mai tribal warriors.

MOBs have beaten to death at least 12 "sorcerers" in Ghana for allegedly making men's penises shrink or vanish. Police dismiss the claims as a ploy by thieves to cause a crowd to be formed, enabling them to rob people more easily.

WOULD-BE Asian immigrants who say they have survived what could be one of the worst massacres at sea in modern times are to be flown home from Greece.

Sea of apathy, page 29

LEFTWING activists and sports personalities married to blacks in Britain were targets of a neo-Nazi letter bomb campaign organised from Copenhagen, Danish officials revealed.

NICHOLAS BIWOTT, named by British detectives as a suspect in the 1980 murder of Kenya's foreign minister, Robert Ouko, regained his place in the Kenyan cabinet.

US BALLOONIST Steve Fossett failed attempt to fly around the world ended in a remote village in India. But he has flown further and stayed airborne longer than any other balloonist.

Comment, page 14

Rwanda witnesses afraid to speak

Chris McGreal in Kizirabondo

WITNESSES expected to provide damning testimony against Hutu extremists before the international tribunal on the Rwandan genocide are refusing to co-operate after the murder of at least two of their number.

Tribunal prosecutors admit some witnesses have withdrawn in fear after the shooting a month ago of Emmanuel Rudasingwa, a Tutsi who survived the 1994 genocide in which his mother and siblings were killed. He was murdered in his village shop in Kizirabondo, 30km west of the capital, by gunmen who also shot 10 others, including his 12-year-old daughter.

He was to have testified at the international tribunal in Tanzania against Jean-Paul Akayesu, a former mayor accused of taking part in the genocide. A fortnight after Rudasingwa's death, another witness and

her entire family were shot and killed.

Critics blame the murders on the tribunal's attitude to the safety of its witnesses. Rudasingwa's widow, Godelieve Mukasana, accused the tribunal of ignoring the danger. "My husband told the tribunal we felt insecure," she said. "He asked the investigators if they could help protect us. They said that if we were attacked we should telephone them. My husband said: 'What should I do, call you when I'm dead?'"

Three weeks after the shooting, the head of the tribunal's office in Kigali, deputy prosecutor Honore Rukomana, was still not aware that Rudasingwa had been murdered. But Mr Rukomana, a judge from Madagascar, concedes there are security problems and that some witnesses are refusing to talk to investigators because of fear of reprisals.

"We are very concerned about the matter of witness protection and

we are troubled by the news of the murder of witnesses. We have met to try to develop new measures to help protect witnesses," he said, but refused to discuss details.

The tribunal blames the Rwandan government for the security failure, saying that the army is responsible for witness protection. The government acknowledges a degree of culpability, but remains critical of the tribunal which, it says, has abdicated responsibility while its pursuit of the genocide organisers has endangered lives.

Witnesses say the tribunal has placed them at grave risk since investigations began. Foreign detectives and lawyers, in cars with tribunal number plates, parked outside the homes of witnesses. Ms Mukasana said word spread quickly in Rwanda's close-knit communities about who was talking to the tribunal and who would give evidence. Investigators have since rented two cars with regular Rwandan number plates.

The judges ordered that the identities of witnesses be kept secret, but the name of the first witness to give the court powerful accounts of Akayesu's involvement in the killings is widely known.

There is no protection, a tribunal official said. "Even if the witnesses aren't killed right away, I think there's a great risk they will eventually be attacked. Most of the witnesses refused to be located."

● The United Nations will not suspend its activities in any part of Rwanda despite the murder of three Spanish aid workers and the wounding of an American in a north-western town last weekend, the latest in a string of attacks by suspected Hutu extremists against foreigners and local Tutsis.

Other aid officials privately criticised the UN's decision, announced in Kigali saying that it could lead to more expatriate deaths.

Le Monde, page 22

Socialists halt handover of city council

Julian Borger in Belgrade

SERBIA'S ruling Socialists on Monday blocked the handover of Belgrade city council to the opposition — a clear signal that more than two months of street protests have not persuaded President Slobodan Milosevic to share power.

Opposition lawyers said they were prepared for months of legal wrangling as the government sought to postpone recognition of November's local election results, in defiance of international observers who declared that the opposition Zajedno (Together) coalition had won in 14 towns and cities.

"It is going to be judicial ping-pong," said Zajedno's chief legal adviser, Dragor Hiber, after a local court referred a ruling on who had won in Belgrade to the Serbian supreme court. "Legally, a final decision could be put off indefinitely. Politically I'm not so sure."

A municipal court last week confirmed Zajedno had won control of the second largest city, Nis, but opposition councillors have yet to convene their first assembly. The situation in most of the other disputed municipalities remains unclear.

In one of them, Sabac, the supreme court this week ruled in favour of the Socialists — a further sign that the government has opted to defy the protests and a stream of international criticism.

The Belgrade election commission had endorsed the opposition victory in the capital last week after an initiative by New Democracy, a minority member of the ruling coalition, which has threatened to walk out of the government if the November election results are not accepted.

But the Socialist party appealed against the ruling in the municipal court, which ducked a final judgment, handing it to Serbia's highest judicial body.

The New Democracy secretary-general, Tahir Hasanovic, said: "We offered them an elegant way out, but obviously they don't want to take it."



Albanian police drag away a man trying to join a demonstration in Tirana's Skanderbeg Square. Protesters shouted anti-government slogans as they demanded that the government take responsibility for money lost in fraudulent pyramid schemes

PHOTOGRAPH BY ARMANDO BABANI

Legal revamp hits rights in Hong Kong

Andrew Higgins in Hong Kong

OUTRAGE and warnings of legal chaos on Monday greeted a plan by China to neuter human rights safeguards in Hong Kong and resurrect colonial-era restrictions on freedom of assembly, association and other civil liberties.

A Hong Kong government statement called the plans a "body blow" to the protection of human rights in the colony, which returns to China in less than six months. Governor Chris Patten described them as "misguided and damaging".

"They strike at the heart of Hong Kong's civil liberties," said Mr Patten, author of a political reform bill that has long been at the top of China's list of targets for demolition after the handover on July 1.

Hong Kong's economy, particularly its property market, is booming, but the planned overhaul of the legal code deepens gloom on prospects for liberties not directly related to money-making. It follows

warnings from China to Hong Kong newspapers to avoid advocacy of causes such as Taiwan or Tibet, and calls for a return to "traditional Chinese values" — often interpreted as obedience — by Mr Patten's Beijing-appointed successor, Tung Chee-hwa.

The proposals were first mooted more than a year ago amid howls of protest and given final form last Sunday at a meeting in Beijing.

China wants to axe Mr Patten's electoral law, which in 1995 gave Hong Kong its first entirely elected legislature in nearly 150 years of colonial rule, and 15 other pieces of legislation. It wants a further nine bills revised, including the colony's Bill of Rights.

It argues that such changes are necessary to bring the law into line with the Basic Law, a Beijing-drafted charter that will serve as Hong Kong's constitution when Britain pulls down the flag. Mr Patten derided these arguments as "politically motivated pretexts".

A senior Chinese official in the colony, Chen Zuo'er, a member of the Joint Liaison Group overseeing the transition, said the changes would "repair the damage" caused by Mr Patten's reforms. With power flowing increasingly rapidly from Britain to China, the legal and political roll-back looks irreversible.

Mr Tung is already assembling his government, and a "provisional" legislature, handpicked by Beijing, to replace one elected under Mr Patten's reforms, is expected to hold its first meeting on January 26 — in the Chinese city of Shenzhen.

Mr Patten's position has been further weakened by an embarrassing scandal over the colony's former immigration chief, Laurence Leung.

Emily Lau, the prominent democracy advocate, warned of the devastating effects of China's legal revamp. "There could be a lot of confusion, even chaos, because if you make such drastic proposals to change so many laws people will not know where they stand."

MPs try to halt Lebed bandwagon

David Hearst in Moscow

FEARS among Russia's political establishment that General Alexander Lebed, the populist paratrooper, could become president if Boris Yeltsin were to resign through ill health, have led to a "get Lebed" campaign.

The establishment's fears were stoked last week when the United States embassy in Moscow admitted that Gen Lebed had received an invitation to President Clinton's inauguration ceremony in Washington. No other Russian political leader was invited.

A day after the US state department denied knowledge of the invitation, Washington had to admit he was coming. "He is invited as a private person. The invitation was received from congressional sources. It is usual that the US inauguration committee gives a certain number of invitations and Congress distributes them," an embassy spokesman said, adding that Mr Yeltsin would be represented by his ambassador.

Aware of the fury he was causing, Gen Lebed said: "There has maybe been manoeuvring around this affair connected to the friendship between Clinton and Yeltsin, but I have been invited and I am going."

The "get Lebed" campaign involves increasing calls by leading parliamentarians for a change in the constitution to limit the powers of

the presidency. Under existing rules, Mr Yeltsin's powers are passed automatically to the prime minister, Viktor Chernomyrdin, if he becomes too ill to continue.

Mr Chernomyrdin could hold power for three months before holding an election, which he would almost certainly lose. The latest opinion poll shows Gen Lebed would be the presidential choice of 25.9 per cent of Russians, a six-point lead over his nearest rival Gennady Zyuganov, the Communist Party leader, and 11 points over Mr Yeltsin.

One way of stopping the Lebed bandwagon would be a pact between the government, both houses of parliament and the regional heads of administration to bring in a constitutional amendment cancelling the election and creating an elitist "boys' assembly" to pick a new leader.

Such an idea has long been touted by Mr Zyuganov, and although changing the constitution is difficult, under the threat of Gen Lebed becoming president it would not be impossible. It would take the support of two-thirds of the Duma (state parliament), half of the Council of the Federation, and two-thirds of each regional assembly.

The key is the strength of feeling in the Council of the Federation, the upper house of parliament in which the regional governors sit. Their speaker, Yegor Stroyev, a former communist and head of administra-

tion, set the ball rolling. "The constitution is not an icon," he said.

He went on to suggest the creation of a "state council" to increase the rights of parliament. Mr Stroyev said he was seriously concerned that a president, who was "not distinguished by his views on democracy", could come to power. He did not mention Gen Lebed by name.

Last week the general was sticking to his controversial declaration that he was not a democrat. He said in an interview with the newspaper *Suddeutsche Zeitung*: "Perhaps one day I will become a democratic politician, but I say honestly that I'll need time to absorb it all."

Gen Lebed's status as the new Russian leader-in-waiting contrasts with the image of Mr Yeltsin still struggling to get out of his bed. Mr Yeltsin left hospital on Monday and will continue his recovery from double pneumonia in a government dacha outside Moscow. The focus will now be on whether he is fit enough to receive President Jacques Chirac of France on February 2.

● Five hours of talks in Moscow on Monday between Javier Solana, Nato's secretary-general, and Yevgeny Primakov, the Russian foreign minister, ended with no agreement on the alliance's plans to expand into eastern Europe and only tough words from Russia on the gulf between the two.

Comment, page 14



Money to burn... A money dealer in Kabul with almost worthless afghan notes. A dollar is equal to more than 4,000 afghanis, whose value has been destroyed by civil war. PHOTO: ZAMEERUDDIN ABELE

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
January 26 1997

Peru rebels' prize hostage

Jane Diaz-Limaco in Lima

LITTLE has been said in Peru about the emotional ties tugging at President Alberto Fujimori during the hostage crisis sparked when Marxist rebels seized the Japanese ambassador's residence in Lima on December 17.

But the president's decisions on how to handle the crisis are made far more difficult by the fact that his younger brother, Pedro, is among the 73 hostages still being held by the heavily armed guerrillas.

Pedro Fujimori is about 56, two years younger than the president, although the exact ages of the five Fujimori children have been subject to newspaper speculation, particularly since the president's Japanese immigrant parents registered Alberto's birthday as Peruvian independence day, July 28.

Pedro is a key figure for the rebels of the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement, because he is the person closest to the president inside the compound. Yet he has barely been mentioned by the authorities.

Virtually unknown in Lima's political and social circles, Pedro seems to characterise the aura of secrecy and enigma that surrounds the life of the president.

The only photographs of Pedro that have appeared in the newspapers are of him as a child with his family, taken in the 1960s. A freed hostage told the *La Republica* newspaper that his rebel captors did not find out Pedro's identity for five days. He had told them only that he was a businessman.

President Fujimori has not mentioned his brother in any statement on the crisis. Last week, the Bishop of Ayacucho, Juan Luis Cipriani — who has been a frequent visitor to the rebel-held building — gave the

first public news of Pedro for nearly a month, saying he was "well, but exhausted and tense".

Pedro is a government official but, unlike the third and youngest Fujimori brother, Santiago — credited with being one of the powers behind the president — he seems to have taken no part in important decisions. His role is to oversee the building of schools.

A biographer, Luis Jochamowitz, author of *Citizen Fujimori*, said that when Alberto Fujimori came from nowhere to be elected to the presidency in 1990, Pedro was living illegally in the United States.

Mr Jochamowitz said Alberto Fujimori was almost a father figure to his younger brother, who followed in his footsteps by studying at Lima's agrarian university.

A member of the family circle, who did not want to be identified, said she thought Pedro was the brother closest to the president. "He is very different from Alberto — happy, gentle, very affectionate and very calm," she said.

Mr Jochamowitz thought the rebels' bargaining position would not be significantly strengthened by Pedro's capture. "The Tupac Amaru rebels would be wrong if they think Pedro is a shield. I cannot imagine Fujimori holding back in his plans or decisions for family reasons."

● Any go-ahead for peace talks between the government and the rebels hinges on whether the authorities would agree to discuss the guerrillas' demand for the release of jailed comrades.

The rebels said last weekend that the government was blocking talks by refusing to consider their main demand. Japan's team in Lima welcomed the rebels' comments for clarifying the main point at issue.

Washington Post, page 19

Mandela angered by Washington's 'bullying'

David Beresford in Johannesburg

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela's office issued an angry attack on Washington last week over United States criticism of a proposed South African arms deal with Syria.

Mr Mandela's spokesman, Parks Mankahlana, described the Americans as "bullies" and their behaviour as "insulting" after threats from the Clinton administration to suspend aid to South Africa if the deal goes through.

The South African department of foreign affairs later tried to strike a more moderate note, saying a local company "was involved in a process of marketing an electronic tank sighting system in Syria" along with companies from at least three European countries. But differences remain.

The US state department is opposed to the proposed 3 billion rand (\$650 million) sale of

military equipment, which would include laser targeting systems for use in Syria's main battle tanks.

US officials claim the sale would fall foul of US legislation that provides for punitive measures against countries selling weapons to Syria, which it lists as a "state sponsor of terrorism".

Mr Mankahlana, who claimed the US was trying to "hold a gun to our head and tell us what to do", said the government objected to US handling of the situation. "We detect this kind of behaviour," he added. "It is not the right way of dealing with us."

The row comes at a time of growing tension between Washington and Pretoria over South Africa's friendly attitude towards countries such as Cuba, Libya and Iran, which all supported the African National Congress during the liberation war.

Foreign policy rifts between South Africa and the US have until now been papered over because of President Clinton's

desire to remain on good terms with Mr Mandela, who is hugely popular in the US.

Despite the attack from his office, Mr Mandela's role in decision-making on the Syrian arms deal appears to have been peripheral. He is gradually handing over power to his heir apparent, Thabo Mbeki, and now rarely attends cabinet meetings.

The decision was taken, in principle, by the cabinet last month on a recommendation from the national conventional arms control committee. But it is subject to the final approval of Mr Mbeki, who was away in India when the cabinet made its decision.

● The South African Nobel laureate, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, has cancer of the prostate gland, it was announced last week. Further tests are being conducted to establish the seriousness of the condition.

Dogs of war, page 8

Britain stymies EU co-operation deal

John Palmer in Brussels

THE British government on Monday deflated hopes of an agreement allowing greater co-operation between groups of European Union countries by firmly insisting on its right to veto changes to the existing rules.

Britain's determination to have the last word about the areas chosen by other EU countries for mutual co-operation followed a display of unity by the French and German governments over their plans for the future of the EU.

The Franco-German declaration came during a meeting of EU foreign ministers in Brussels to negotiate a new EU treaty later this year. At a joint press conference, they stressed their "nearly identical views" on the treaty — essential if the EU was to open its doors to new members in eastern Europe.

The demonstration seemed designed to put new impetus into the negotiations, and to counter reports of strains between Bonn and Paris over control of economic policy after the launch of the single currency and over the presidency

of the future European central bank. Reservations were expressed about the Franco-German statements not only by Britain but by the Netherlands, Italy and Portugal — which are worried that the concerns of less powerful countries may be ignored.

The British foreign office minister for European affairs, David Davis, said that a gulf separated the Franco-German view of flexibility from that of the British government. "We will want to keep our right to veto proposals not just on a subject-by-subject but on a case-by-case basis," he said.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
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Seoul's veil of democracy wears thin

Andrew Higgins in Seoul

AFTER a procession of thieves, violent drunks, an illegal immigrant and a hit-and-run driver, a baby-faced man in spectacles shuffled into Room 524 of the Seoul District Court last week. His crime: sending a computer message that dared to pose a question.

"Are they really armed spies?" asked Yoon Seokjin on the Internet, a day after a North Korean submarine ran aground last September in what South Korea insisted was a villainous commando operation. "If they are ordinary North Korean soldiers who just landed by accident, then, once again, we are being

deceived by our government." He also expressed sorrow that so many of the North Koreans had died, apparently from suicide. "They too have families."

For this, Mr Yoon, aged 27, a history graduate and son of a former military officer, could be imprisoned for 18 months — the latest casualty, despite South Korea's elections and other trappings of democracy, of a capriciously authoritarian system.

Mr Yoon, whom police led blindfolded from his home three months ago, has fallen into a legal trapdoor at the heart of Seoul's democracy. Under the National Security Law that makes it a crime to "support, encourage or praise" North Korea,

the state can arrest anyone. It dates from an often brutal period of rule by military men from 1961 until 1993, when Kim Young-sam took office as president.

But President Kim, a former victim of tear-gas who regularly tear-gasses his opponents, has been loath to give up the old instruments of power, and the attitudes that go with them, particularly what Koreans call the "red complex".

His government claimed last week that three weeks of country-wide strikes and protests triggered by a new labour law had been fanned by Stalinists in Pyongyang. (The evidence: 47 leaflets containing phrases that might be construed

as sympathetic to socialism.) The state prosecutor has also warned of legal action against anyone looking at a new North Korean entry on the World Wide Web.

Kim Ki-joong, a defence lawyer in the computer message case, said: "Everyone does and says things that could violate the National Security Law but very few are arrested. That depends on luck. And that is the problem. People do not know if they are breaking this law or not."

Mr Yoon's mother and a few friends were in the spectators' gallery last week to await the verdict. The judge needed more time. Come back in a month, he said.

"My son has already spent three

months in prison. Is what he wrote really that serious?" asked his mother, Chung Ki-ja, a middle-class housewife who, enraged by her son's predicament, has embraced a campaign for legal reform. She admits she dabbled in radical student politics at Seoul's So-Kang University. He got picked up in 1989 for having a book about North Korea and again in 1991 after a wave of protests. Then he mooched about, drifting between odd jobs. But, she said: "If he is a North Korean agent so am I... Under the security law we are all probably guilty of something."

Authorities pounced on Mr Yoon after a university newspaper reprinted, without permission, his message to a computer noticeboard about the North Korean submarine. Police raided the newspaper and demanded to know who had written it.

Canadians accused of Bosnia abuse

David Crary in Toronto

THE Canadian army said last week that 47 of its soldiers face possible dismissal for sexual misconduct, drunkenness and abuse of patients at a mental hospital in Bosnia.

The army commander, Lieutenant-General Maurice Baril, released details of an investigation he ordered in July after earlier inquiries into the abuses were ineffective. The revelations are the latest in a series of scandals to hit the Canadian military, ranging from harassment of the army's first female infantry officer to a torture killing and other abuses committed by soldiers in Somalia.

The misconduct by peacekeepers in Bosnia occurred in 1993-94 at the Bakovici mental hospital. Gen Baril said 57 members of the 12th Armoured Regiment, assigned to protect the war-zone hospital, committed various offences. Ten have left the army and are no longer subject to military discipline.

The offences included abuse of patients and sex with interpreters and nurses, which is prohibited. In one case, a soldier shaved the genital area of a 17-year-old female patient.

The report said officers frequently violated rules on drinking and, because of their own poor example, had trouble controlling subordinates.

All 47 soldiers accused of wrongdoing will go before career review boards that could recommend dismissal. Gen Baril said courts-martial cannot be held because the offences occurred more than three years ago — the army's statute of limitations.

"They might lose their job, or they might be reprimanded or lose their rank," he told a news conference. "They'll be blackened for the rest of their career."

The Bosnia report praised the overall behaviour of most soldiers. It also discounted allegations that Canadians left a wounded Serb soldier to die.

Gen Baril said the military had to confront its problems. "We have to stop being like porcupines and shooting our quills everywhere. All of us have to look at what we have done wrong." — AP

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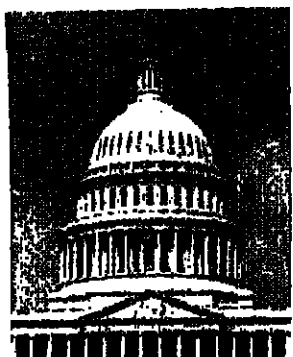
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Clinton puts faith in a hi-tech future



The US this week

Martin Walker

BILL CLINTON launched his second term as president on Monday and looked forward to a new millennium with a dark warning that America's future was still hostage to "the divide of race — the nation's constant curse".

"Will we be one nation, one people with one common destiny. Will we come together or come apart?" he demanded, striking an unusually sombre note for an inauguration address usually stuffed with clichés of American grandeur. "Each new wave of immigrants gives new targets to old prejudices. Prejudice and contempt cloaked in the pretence of religious or political convictions are no different. These forces have nearly destroyed our nation in the past. They plague us still."

"We shall overcome," concluded the Southern Democratic president who still recalls a boyhood of segregated schools and cinemas. It was a deliberate echo of Martin Luther King, whose birthday this inauguration shared, and whose memory lent the president's address both resonance and power.

Clinton otherwise delivered a speech with few clues to the next four years, except that his agenda would be filled with education projects and the Internet, all designed "to make today's permanent underclass part of tomorrow's growing middle class". There was no message or agenda for the wider world beyond the United States except the blunt assertion that "America stands alone as the world's indispensable nation".

But from the very spot where Ronald Reagan 16 years earlier had launched the conservative era by asserting that "government is not the problem", Clinton claimed it was time to move on, in what amounted to a final surrender of the old New Deal tradition of the Democratic party.

"We have resolved for our time a great debate over the role of government. Today we can declare that government is not the problem, and government is not the solution. We, the American people, we are the solution," Clinton said. "We need a new government for a new century, humble enough not to try to solve all the problems, but strong enough to give us the tools to solve our problems for ourselves; a government that is smaller, lives within its means, and does more with less."

Despite the cold, Clinton followed the 1967 example of John Kennedy. He doffed his overcoat and stood bareheaded in the chill wind to give an echo of Kennedy's youth and vigour. The gesture brought out the

contrast between the soaring rhetoric and dramatic cold war agenda of Kennedy, and the flatter words and vaguer horizons of Clinton, the eternal politician who tries to please his audiences rather than inspire them.

"Our land of new promise will be a nation that meets its obligations, a nation that balances its budget but never loses the balance of its values," he said, in a breathless paragraph of quintessential, ingratiating Clintonism. "A nation where our grandparents have secure retirement and health care, and their grandchildren know we have made those benefits for their time, a nation that fortifies the world's most productive economy even as it protects the great natural bounty of our water, air and majestic land."

Clinton delivered his second inaugural address under the shadow of great speeches delivered by greater men. He still talks of the tingling in his teenage spine at the inspiration of Kennedy's inaugural address: "Ask not what your country can do for you — ask what you can do for your country." That speech, by which all others are now judged, was delivered on a freezing day in January 1961, a time so distant that it was the year the Berlin Wall went up, a time when half of the Americans alive today had not even been born.

It is a cruel exercise to scan through the uplifting and resonant words that Clinton spoke four years ago, when he was sworn in as president for the first time. Much of it was guff, running along the customary lines of "Today we pledge an end to the era of deadlock and drift, and a new season of American renewal has begun".

There were the usual politician's promises. The man who last year signed into law the new Republican welfare bill that abolished the role of the federal government as the provider of last resort to impoverished mothers and children was the same president who pronounced at his first inauguration: "We recognise a simple but powerful truth: we need each other, and we must care for one another."

THERE were pledges which ring sickly hollow today. The most egregious, after Clinton's re-election on a tidal wave of money, raised and deployed earlier and faster and in greater sums than ever before, was the promise to reform the inherent corruption of the campaign finance system.

"And so I say to you all here: Let us resolve to reform our politics so that power and privilege no longer shout down the voice of the people," he said then, before turning the Lincoln bedroom of the White House into a hot sheet motel for a swift turnover of big donors.

The great charm of Americans is that they always expect things to get better. They are born, in the luckiest and most lavishly endowed of countries, with an extra gene of optimism that distinguishes them from most other nations. They are, as the showman P T Barnum recognised, so many suckers, always enduringly ready to be fooled again. And Bill Clinton is the political Barnum of his day.

As he took his second oath of



office, the president was thought to be doing a good job by 62 per cent of the American public, according to a Gallup poll. This is exactly where Reagan stood at the start of his second term. It is also where Richard Nixon stood in December 1972, after his re-election. These historical parallels carry an obvious echo. Nixon's second term was unfinished. Reagan's was tarnished by the Iran-Contra scandal.

With the exception of Franklin Roosevelt, few second terms have been altogether satisfactory, let alone triumphant. But they have usually been marked by a bid to make a mark in history, traditionally in foreign policy, where the president enjoys rather more freedom of action from Congress.

At the main planning session for the second term, over black bean soup and chicken with mashed potatoes at Blair House, Clinton's new secretary of state, Madeleine Albright, set the tone by saying that she was no big spender. Her entire budget for foreign aid, diplomacy, funding for the United Nations and all the other international organisations to which the US subscribes, amounted to barely 1 per cent of the federal budget — "but that will be used to write 50 per cent of the history and legacy of our times".

So there is grandeur in the second-term ambitions over foreign policy, where Clinton and his new national security team are now experienced and comfortable with the uses of American power. They all share the conviction that theirs is "the essential nation", without whose leadership nothing serious can be achieved internationally.

All raised as students in the shadow of that great post-1945 generation of Americans who launched the Marshall Aid plan and Nato, who were in Dean Acheson's phrase "present at the Creation", the Clinton team sees the next four years in equally ambitious terms. Albright set the tone by telling the Senate last week that "more than audience, more even than actors, we must be

the authors of the history of our times".

There are four big international ambitions, which have now been agreed by the new national security team. The most immediate, according to the new national security adviser, Sandy Berger, is to assert that America is a European power which plans "to build an undivided, peaceful and democratic Europe". The Clinton team's ambition is to do for central and eastern Europe what the cold war generation achieved for western Europe. They are determined to persuade Russia to accept an enlarged Nato alliance which stretches right up to Russia's borders, while devising new mechanisms to draw Russia into a US-led transatlantic trade and security system.

CLINTON'S second goal, rooted in America's parallel claim to be an Asian-Pacific power, is "to cement America's role as a stabilising force in a more integrated Asian-Pacific community", in which China is engaged and cajoled into becoming a co-operative power.

The third is to develop the global free trade strategy of the first term and "build an open regional economy in the Western hemisphere", with presidential visits to widen the North American Free Trade Agreement to include Chile and Argentina. The last objective is finally to resolve America's wretched relations with the UN and pay off the billion-dollar arrears.

The one theme of serious domestic reform that Clinton raised in his campaign was to widen educational opportunity, and to guarantee at least two years of college or vocational training to all American high school graduates who wanted it. But 90 per cent of the US education budget is raised and spent by the 50 states, and the federal government plays only a marginal role.

If Clinton wants to make his mark as an education president, he will have to use the bully pulpit of his office to mobilise public opinion to make a hostile Congress pay for his

project, and then make the states run it.

There are two reasons why Clinton may be able to persuade the Republican Congress to go along with him. The first is the community of scandal that has left Newt Gingrich, the Republican Speaker of the House, just as ethically challenged as the Democratic president. The circumstances have seldom been more favourable for both parties to live up to their ritual promises of reforming the inherent corruption of the campaign finance system.

The second reason why Clinton believes he can persuade Congress to help him make some history is that these are historic times: the cusp of the millennium, a modern version of that great transition from a rural to an industrial nation which President Teddy Roosevelt helped America make. This sense of historic change to a new information age is something Clinton shares with Gingrich, a fellow Southern baby-boomer, who is equally impassioned about education reform.

Two other crucial figures share the belief that education and new technology should propel Clinton's America into the new millennium — the First Lady and Vice-President Al Gore. There are few more striking reminders of the disappointed hope of Clinton's inauguration four years ago than the feminist in the White House who failed to establish the first co-presidency. Still at risk of indictment from the Whitewater special prosecutor, she has already been humbled and forced back to the traditional preserves of children and good works.

But if the co-presidency of Bill and Hillary failed to emerge in the first term, the co-presidency of Bill and Al may do so in the second. Clinton's mission to shift the Democratic party into electable centre depends strongly on Gore's succession, and his ability to fend off challenges from the party's traditional liberal wing in Congress.

Gingrich reprimand, page 17

Merry KGB Day to you

MOSCOW DIARY
David Hearst

FRIEDRICH Engels said work was how man evolved from the apes, and the teachers in the Soviet schoolroom would often screen at their feckless pupils: "If you don't work, you'll become a monkey." Marx, who at one point wanted to dedicate Das Kapital to Darwin, was also much enamoured of the ennobling qualities of labour. Today's generation of Russian entrepreneurs know their Marx and Engels, but has the lesson sunk in?

There are 11 public holidays in the Russian calendar, says the ministry of labour, which should know. There's New Year, January 1 and 2. Nothing harmful there. Then there is January 7, Orthodox Christmas; March 8, International Women's Day; and May 9, Victory Day (against Germany). Who can gainsay those?

But then there is June 12, Day of the Adoption of the Declaration of State Sovereignty of the Russian Federation. This is Russia's "independence day", one of the many tools in Boris Yeltsin's fight against Mikhail Gorbachev, who was still Soviet president. It causes guffaws today. "Independence from whom?" they ask. "From ourselves?" Then there is November 7, once the holy of holies in the communist calendar, the Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

One of the first decrees Yeltsin signed after his recent heart operation was to change its name to the Day of National Reconciliation. One democrat said it was like the French renaming Bastille Day "Day of Love and Friendship". Before the year ends there is yet another public holiday, December 12, the day Russia changed its constitution — again.

But the list does not end there. Every branch of industry has the right to a holiday. Hence Fisherman's Day, Woodkeeper's Day, the Day of the Work of Light Industry. Not to mention Teacher's Day, Miner's day, the Day of the Defender of the Motherland, Artillery Day, Missile Day, Border Guard Day, Paratrooper Day, KGB Day.

All are occasions for the works outing, usually to another canteen. The meal starts in Calvinistic gloom. But two courses into the proceedings the toasts begin, and after the third shot of neat vodka, contentment spreads. In minutes, the monosyllabic mob is transformed into a Brazilian football crowd, dancing on the tables, arms around the boss, each other, the pillars in the hall. Discourse of Great Meaning is started and the unfair, deeply insensitive world outside is set to rights.

The day after the day of whatever it was should be dubbed the Day of the Hangover. That's a Monday. Friday is but a blink away, and the office or shop can be closed for a "Cleaning Day" or an "Accounting Day". Friday comes, and it's time for the exodus to the dacha. And given the heavy traffic, you are performing a civic duty if you leave shortly after lunch.

Bonn cracks down on 'foreigners'

Ian Traynor in Bonn

HUNDREDS of thousands of foreign children in Germany, many born and bred here, had their visa and residence rights curbed last week under lightning regulations introduced as part of a crackdown on immigration.

The regulations, requiring the under-16 offspring of immigrants to obtain residence permits and introducing visa requirements for under-16s travelling to Germany, many of them to visit relatives, came into force two days after the interior minister, Manfred Kanther, announced the measures.

Bonn is also strengthening pa-

trols on its eastern borders to combat illegal immigration from the former communist bloc, and increasing the number of inspectors trying to catch the thousands of foreigners working illegally on building sites in Berlin and east Germany.

Mr Kanther, Chancellor Helmut Kohl's Bavarian coalition ally, verges on blaming mass unemployment on immigrants.

Aid organisations, charities and even government officials condemned the measures. "It is difficult to explain to the children or their parents why they need permission to stay in the country in which they were born and grew up," said Cornelia Schmatz-Jacobson, the

government commissioner for foreigners.

Worried immigrants rushed to get their children into the country before the deadline. Bonn long ago waived visa requirements for under-16s from Turkey, Morocco, Tunisia and former Yugoslavia, to allow them to visit relatives for up to three months — a concession now ended.

But the most controversial measure is the imposition of residence requirements on children already here. Until last week, under-16s did not need residence papers, provided at least one parent was entitled to be in Germany.

"From now on, children who know no other homeland but Ger-

many, who speak only German, and whose future is here, need regularly to ask for official permission to live in Germany," the Frankfurter Rundschau newspaper said.

Led by Mr Kanther, who regularly inveighs against immigration and says Germany must not become a "multicultural society", the crackdown coincides with the launch of 1997 as Europe's year of anti-racism.

Mr Kanther defended the curbs, saying the number of unaccompanied minors entering Germany had almost quadrupled since 1990, to more than 3,000 last year. The residence permits requirement affects 600,000 children in Germany, mainly Turks and ex-Yugoslavs. He said parents were sending their children to Germany to boost their own chances of joining them later.

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SWITZERLAND

The Week in Britain James Lewis

Tory MP's death adds to calls for early election

JOHN MAJOR led a minority Government for a few days following the death of backbench MP Ian Mills, who had represented the prosperous West Midlands car industry seat of Meriden since 1979. But the balance in numbers was evened out this week by the death of the long-serving Labour MP Martin Redmond, who had been ill for some time.

The Tories could slump into a minority again if they are defeated at a by-election due to be held in Wirral South at the end of February or early March. The Tory MP Barry Carter held the seat with a reasonably comfortable majority of 8,183 until his death in November, but the latest opinion poll in the constituency puts Labour 16 points ahead. Since Tory strength in the Commons now equals that of the combined opposition forces, the Prime Minister has to walk a tightrope on every vote.

In practice, current parliamentary arithmetic means that the Government can get by so long as it can count on the support of the nine Ulster Unionist MPs. But the precariousness of its position puts a strain on party morale and adds to the sense of a Parliament moving towards its end.

THE ONE certainty about the general election, whenever it comes, is that the Liberal Democrats will not win it. But they could end up with a couple of dozen MPs, and so push the party towards a post-election coalition with Labour.

Both Paddy Ashdown, the Lib-Dem leader, and Labour's Tony Blair are keen to discourage speculation about what might be agreed between them after an election. The two sides are already engaged in talks on constitutional reform but have ruled out any discussions about a post-election deal.

What the Lib-Dems will demand, as the price of any deal, is progress towards a proportional system of voting, which would give them more seats in the Commons. But some Lib-Dem MPs — particularly in constituencies where Labour is the main challenger — are nervous about any signs of cosying up to Mr Blair.

David Alton, Lib-Dem MP for Liverpool, accused Mr Ashdown of jeopardising the party's independence for personal ambition and the chance of a seat in a Blair cabinet. Other MPs, however, are urging him to press for a specific ministry rather than lesser posts in several departments.

Mr Ashdown plays it with caution. "My passion," he said, "is to destroy the destructive tribalism in British politics, to see if we can create a new basis for British politics. I think there are others who want to alter this destructive tribalism, Mr Blair may be one."

ORGAN transplants from pigs to humans are ethically acceptable in principle, but their use must wait until questions of safety and effectiveness have been answered. This was the main conclusion reached by a committee on the ethics of xenotransplants (animal-to-human transplants) chaired by Ian

Kennedy, professor of law and medicine at King's College, London.

The committee's report, accepted by the Department of Health, said further research was needed on whether viruses or other illnesses could be transmitted from pig organs to people, and on how long pig transplants would last. But Prof Kennedy said it would never be possible to be 100 per cent certain of the procedure's safety before trying it.

The Government invited public comments on the issue and experiments. Legislation to regulate animal-to-human transplants could follow before too long.

MINISTERS were reported to be backing away from a clash with teachers over early retirement in order to ensure peace in the nation's schools before the general election.

The Education Secretary, Gillian Shephard, had said that special government funding for teachers' early retirement deals would be withdrawn after the end of March. This resulted in a rush of 11,000 applications to beat the deadline — a stampede that would be expensive and leave schools without staff in key subjects.

When a teaching union won the right to challenge her in the courts, the Education Department suggested that changes in the teachers' pension arrangements might be delayed until September.

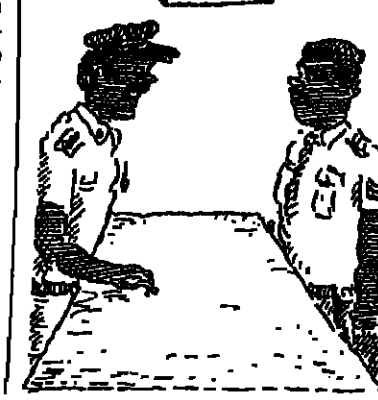
Four out of five teachers now quit before the age of 60, but their local authority employers complain that many of those who "retire" on pension return to work in their old schools as supply teachers.

BRIAN HARVEY, lead singer with pop group East 17, was sacked by his band after he boasted of taking 12 tablets of Ecstasy in one night, insisting the drug was safe and praising it for "increasing the love" between people.

He changed his mind a few hours later, but it was too late. Radio stations around the country refused to play his records, and a nationwide anti-drugs backlash included stern criticism from the Prime Minister.

Conservative MP Barry Legg's private member's bill aimed at clamping down on drug abuse received its second reading in the House of Commons last week.

Austin
SHE SAYS, HAVE WE GOT A MINE DETECTOR IN PALE BLUE?
STORES



Armour-plated... Diana in Angola, where she saw land-mines being cleared

Diana walks into political minefield

Guardian Reporters

HUAMBO is a town of pot-holes and shattered buildings. Houses are riddled with bullet-holes, and many have been destroyed.

Last week it was at the centre of a different sort of battle. On one side was Diana, Princess of Wales; on the other a whispering campaign against her visit, fuelled by Tory backbenchers.

The one-time agricultural town, destroyed during the bitter civil war that has wrecked Angola, was the last stopping point for Diana's four-day tour highlighting a Red Cross campaign for an immediate ban on land-mines.

As she picked her way carefully through a real minefield, warned by officials not to stray from the road for fear of undetonated mines, she made it clear that she viewed the comments from Britain as a distraction. "All I'm trying to do is help," she told reporters.

Although Whitehall officials tried to play down the row, saying that Diana's comments were in line with government policy, the Tories are concerned that the princess's sup-

port for the Red Cross campaign in effect aligns her with Labour's "immediate ban" policy.

Peter Viggers, a Conservative member of the Commons defence select committee, described Diana's remarks as "ill-informed". He said: "This is an important, sophisticated argument. It doesn't help simply to point at the amputees and say how terrible it is... It doesn't actually add much to the sum of human knowledge."

In Huambo the Halo Trust, a demining organisation, provided a demonstration of its work. The princess watched the painstaking process of clearing the topsoil to reveal the mines that have left the country a wreck of walking wounded.

The princess put on an armoured vest and a helmet resembling a welding mask before being taken to see demining work, detonating one of the mines being cleared.

Although the Government is committed to an eventual worldwide ban on mines, in the short term it is prepared to concede the retention of "smart mines" that self-destruct after a time.

In an ironic twist, the Foreign

Office said: "The Princess of Wales was briefed fully on our policy before she left on her trip and as far as we are concerned she is sticking to that policy."

A spokesman said that after her divorce "a mechanism" was put in place to ensure that the princess was always briefed by FO of any relevant aspects of government policy before any non-foreign trip abroad.

A spokesman for the Ministry of Defence said the Government was pursuing the elimination of all self-destruct mines, which cause the most horrific injuries. It had spent \$21 million on mine-clearance projects around the world over the past few years. Britain was now one of the world's main contributors to clearing mines, and there was now a moratorium on British export of anti-personnel mines.

The Foreign Office insisted: "The British government view is what she is trying to publicise," a spokesman said. "It highlights and, we would argue, supports the case and arguments that we have been using."

Agenda for St Diana, page 14
Washington Post, page 18

Turmoil over safety of nuclear dump

Paul Brown

THE £2 billion project to dispose of Britain's mountain of lethal nuclear waste was thrown into turmoil last week when the chief scientist of the company in charge of the Sellafield scheme said it might have to be abandoned.

A leaked memo written by Dr John Holmes, director of science for Nirex, the industry's waste disposal company, said: "I have a feeling that we may struggle to make a case for the site."

The safety case had not been made out and one of three options was to abandon the project. Another was to remodel the computer calculations so it showed the project — comparable in scale to the Channel Tunnel — in a better light.

Cumbria county council, which was sent the memo anonymously, demanded a re-opening of the public inquiry into the scheme and said: "It casts severe doubt on whether the site could ever meet the current safety requirements."

John Gummer, the Environment Secretary, who was widely expected to give the go-ahead for the first phase of the scheme soon, knew nothing about the company's doubts. A spokesman for the department said the new evidence would be taken into consideration.

The question of what to do with the nation's radioactive waste — at 60,000 cubic metres one of the world's largest stockpiles — has haunted the Government since the early eighties when a scheme to place waste in a disused mine under

the ICI factory at Billingham was abandoned because of public pressure. Another four proposed schemes were abandoned before the 1987 election.

The latest idea has so far cost £200 million to develop. For six months until February last year there was a public inquiry into a plan to build a rock laboratory 1,000 metres under Sellafield to see whether a full-scale depository on the site would be safe.

If it went ahead, four more years of trials and a further public inquiry would be required. The total cost of the scheme would be £2 billion, by which time the stockpile will have doubled. Meanwhile nuclear waste continues to pile up in expensive concrete stores.

Council set to privatise care services

David Brindle

KENT was poised this week to become the first local authority to privatise its home care services for the elderly and disabled, pre-empting government plans to force all councils to farm out most social services.

The drastic move is being recommended to Kent county councillors because of a need to make cuts of £24 million in their social services budget. Up to 2,000 jobs will be at risk.

Speculation this week intensified that the forthcoming white paper on social services will form a cornerstone of the Tories' general election

manifesto, calling for social services departments to become commissioning bodies running very few direct services. Ministers believe that such an attack on social services will be popular with the electorate at a time when the public inquiry into past abuse in North Wales children's homes will fuel antagonism.

Although a substantial slice of the £7.8 billion social services budget is already spent in the private and voluntary sectors, particularly in paying for residential care, the Government says taxpayers would get better value if councils ran only a few specialist services.

Stephen Dorrell, the Health Secretary, has said that the white

paper may even propose that all 32,000 field social workers and managers be hived off to independent agencies.

Kent's move comes just days after Laing & Buisson, leading care industry analysts, said local authorities could buy 30 per cent more care by privatising their home help and other domiciliary services. However, the analysts acknowledged that savings would come mainly from lower pay for care workers. Kent council's own domiciliary services cost £10.83 an hour, compared with £7.49 an hour in the independent sector, and employ 1,200 people to work in 12,000 homes.

Other savings being considered

by Kent social services committee include raising charges for domiciliary services by up to 400 per cent, closing 10 old people's homes and axing 85 management posts. In all, between 1,800 and 2,000 jobs would go under a package making 10.7 per cent cuts.

Peter Smallridge, director of Kent's social services department, says in a report to the committee: "The impact of the savings I recommend in this paper will be devastating to the lives of many of the department's service users and their families."

All Kent's services, except schools, face an equal cut in their budgets because of a £79 million

shortfall in the authority's funds. Capping by the Government of the county's spending is blamed.

Ministers will seize on the move to contract-out domiciliary services as hard evidence of the savings other authorities could make by following suit.

Gerald Malone, the health minister, said that it had been proved that privatisation was a successful principle: "It would be ludicrous to suggest we shouldn't be looking for opportunities in all sorts of policy areas to extend it where it is sensible to do so. It brings a lot of public benefit," he said.

However, Bob Lewis, president of the Association of Directors of Social Services, warned that wholesale privatisation of social services would lead to a "quick and certain" reduction in standards.

Tribunal starts into children's home abuse

David Brindle

MORE than 80 alleged child abusers have received summonses to appear before the North Wales children's homes tribunal, due to start this week.

Some 175 people who claim they were abused in the homes over the past 23 years will give evidence. Hearings are to run until October.

The vast scope of the inquiry, forecast to cost £10 million, is causing concern that innocent former care workers may be caught up in it.

Bob Lewis, president of the Association of Directors of Social Services (ADSS), said: "We must be careful not to use 1990s standards in gauging what went on in the 1970s."

The tribunal was announced by the Government last summer after a campaign for a public inquiry into allegations of widespread abuse at homes in the former counties of Chwyd and Gwynedd. Hearings will be chaired by Sir Ronald Waterhouse, a 70-year-old former High Court judge.

The alleged abusers have at this stage received "Salmon letters", informing them that accusations have been made against them and requesting them to appear. All evidence sessions will be in public unless the tribunal rules otherwise. Although precise rules remain unclear, witnesses are expected to have to make individual pleas for the tribunal to grant them anonymity.

The first witnesses are due to appear in early February, when evidence will be taken from those claiming to have been abused. Seven weeks have been allotted for the 175 complainants. After a four-week break, the alleged abusers will start to appear on April 14.

Evidence will be taken from other staff of the homes and the former local authorities in June and July, and from the Welsh Office and police in September and October.

Many experienced observers consider the provisional timetable optimistic. However, Sir Ronald has said he does not want hearings to run beyond 12 months.

The ADSS is worried that allegations of past abuse will be pouring forth next month as the Government produces a white paper on the future of social services, expected to propose that local authorities stop running their own residential homes and other services.

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Brown buries tax-and-spend image

Michael White and Larry Elliott

THE SHADOW chancellor, Gordon Brown, on Monday seized the initiative in the pre-election battle on tax when he risked the wrath of leftwingers and unions by pledging not to raise tax rates in the life of the next parliament.

Gambling that the political appeal of his tax pledge to the floating middle-class voters he is targeting will outweigh criticism, Mr Brown promised that the basic rate of tax would not rise from 23p in the pound and the top rate would remain at 40p.

Mr Brown's promise, combined with a commitment to stick by the Conservative party's public spend-

ing plans for the first two years, caught ministers flat-footed as they prepared to relaunch the familiar pre-election tax-and-spend attack on Labour.

However, there were already rumblings of discontent from some Labour backbenchers and union leaders at the refusal to levy a 50 per cent tax rate on the rich.

Mr Brown stressed to a business audience in London that his approach to the public finances represented the burial of Labour's traditional "tax and spend" policies.

Mr Blair on Tuesday sought to sustain the momentum by offering a business conference "a new deal for the future". Labour will leave most of the Thatcherite reforms of the 1980s intact if industry joins it in

partnership to reform education, welfare and the national infrastructure for the new century.

But Mr Brown's pledge left both friend and foe asking if Labour had gone too far in the Tories' direction to retain both credibility in the City and loyalty among the voters.

Cautious union leaders warned Labour's leadership that it cannot deliver social justice with such a tough spending regime, and while most Labour MPs suppressed their doubts about Mr Brown's tough stance so close to an election which could come as early as March 20, there was some open criticism.

Ken Livingstone, MP for Brent East, insisted that a new top rate yielding £3.4 billion a year was needed to curb the consumer boom

and create more fairness while fellow leftwinger Tony Banks, MP for Newham North-west, said: "To say 'Vote Labour and there will be no change' is hardly an election-winning slogan."

However, the shadow chancellor sought to protect his flank by balancing the tough parts of his speech with firm commitments to the less well off, and to getting people off the ballooning welfare roll and back into work. In addition, Mr Brown made it clear that his pledge applied only to income tax rates and not to the 200 reliefs and exemptions that riddle Britain's complex tax system.

But the Chancellor, Kenneth Clarke, said: "Hell will freeze before Gordon Brown could control spending and keep tax down."

Better not to have whips on inquiry, says minister

David Hencke

THE minister accused of manipulating the first parliamentary inquiry into "cash for questions" told MPs on Monday that, in hindsight, it would have been better if the Government had never appointed him to serve on the committee.

Andrew Mitchell, then a whip but now a social security minister, denied any wrongdoing in his role on the now defunct Commons Members' Interest Committee two years ago, but said he had been judged by Labour "for what I am rather than what I did".

He added: "It would be better if the House were to decide that whips should not sit on committees such as this one."

Mr Mitchell is the second former whip to appear before the Commons Standards and Privileges Committee, accused of manipulating or smothering the original inquiry.

David Willetts, former Postmaster General, resigned last month after being accused of "dissembling" over a memorandum he sent to the then chief whip, Richard Ryder. This suggested that the then committee chairman, Sir Geoffrey Johnson Smith, could abandon the original inquiry into whether Neil Hamilton, a former trade minister, had taken cash and vouchers from owner of Harrods, Mohamed Al Fayed.

The present inquiry follows the collapse of the libel action brought

by Mr Hamilton and the lobbyist Ian Greer against the Guardian for making those allegations.

Mr Mitchell appeared after the leaking of a letter suggesting he had approached the Registrar of Members' Interests, Roger Sands, to elicit information about Mr Hamilton's not declaring an interest with Strategy Network International, and had reported this to the chief whip.

Mr Mitchell confirmed that he had done so, but emphasised that any MPs could do this and that he had passed on the information as a member of the Government. He strongly denied the implication that he had abused his position.

A row erupted over his role during the first inquiry, during which Labour MPs and one anonymous Tory MP allege he sought to ensure the report on Mr Hamilton was watered down. He also denied allegations that he was rushing in and out of the committee to take instructions from the whips.

Mr Mitchell — the first MP to give evidence to a Commons committee under oath — insisted during the televised hearing that he had acted "honourably and independently" throughout. "At all times I believe I distinguished between my role as a Government whip and my separate role as a member of the members' interests committee. I did not in any sense at any time seek to influence the members of the committee improperly."

Clark is listed for plum seat

Rebecca Smithers

THE controversial former minister Alan Clark has emerged as a leading contender to become the Tory candidate for the plum seat of Kensington and Chelsea, succeeding Sir Nicholas Scott, who was de-selected at the end of last year.

The one-time defence minister, who stood down from parliament at the last election, has made it to the penultimate shortlist of six candidates, to be interviewed this week by Kensington and Chelsea's executive council.

Mr Clark, who has a castle in Kent and a well-publicised record of sexual misdemeanours, impressed local Tories with "a highly polished performance".

The local party realisted pressure to interview candidates favoured by Conservative Central Office for one of the safest Tory seats in the country.

Also highly rated on the shortlist is Patricia Morris, who unsuccessfully stood for Oldham Central at the last election. Another contender is Martin Howe, the Eurosceptic nephew of former Chancellor Sir Geoffrey. The only local on the shortlist is councillor and business consultant Daniel Moylan.

The other woman in the running is Sarah Whitehouse, a criminal barrister. Former Walthamstow MP Hugo Summerson — once voted "the most romantic MP" by Commons secretaries — also made it to the shortlist.



Snack attack... Tourists have flocked to Trafalgar Square to feed the pigeons since long before the film of Mary Poppins offered the refrain "feed the birds, tuppence a bag". Now Westminster council has voted to ignore nostalgia and is pressing the Home Office to authorise a bylaw banning the public from feeding them. PHOTO: MARTIN ARQUES

Blair risks school reform

John Carvel

TONY Blair would act within weeks of winning a general election to begin the process of reversing the Conservative education reforms which allowed state schools to opt for self-governing status and diminished the role of local education authorities.

David Blunkett, the shadow Education Secretary, is working on a white paper for publication in the early days of a Labour administration to implement a comprehensive reform of the structure and standards of education.

It would form the basis for the giant Education Bill that Mr Blair promised last week would be the first priority of his government. Although he drew particular attention to proposals for encouraging more homework, these would form only a minor component of a subsidiary clause in the legislation introducing mandatory home-school contracts to bind parents into their children's education.

The opt-out element is the most contentious element of the white paper. The move will allow the Tories to accuse Labour of restricting choice for ideological reasons, and risks antagonising many of the 1 million parents of children in the

country's 1,000-plus opt-out schools. It will also reopen the bitter debate within Labour, where critics will renew accusations that, by allowing opt-out schools to transfer to separate status, there will still be a two-tier system.

There are currently 1,155 opt-out schools with 720,677 pupils — 19.6 per cent of the secondary school total and 2.8 per cent of children in primary schools. They would have the option of converting to "foundation" status, with two local authority representatives on the governing body and subject to the normal admissions policy, which Labour would leave to the discretion of the local authority.

Given the limits on public spending imposed by the shadow chancellor, Gordon Brown, the bill is being shaped to provide the maximum impact to demonstrate the priority Mr Blair is putting on this area of policy. The white paper will propose phasing out the Funding Agency for Schools, the York-based quango that allocates budgets to the grant-maintained sector, bypassing local education authorities.

The plan to reassert the role of LEAs looks set to become one of the clearest dividing lines between the two parties as they rush towards the ideological middle ground.

In Brief

AN ATTEMPT by the Home Secretary, Michael Howard, to deport a convicted heroin dealer has been thwarted by the European Commission of Human Rights in Strasbourg, which has agreed to hear the man's claims that he risks torture if returned to Iran.

TWO Ulster police officers and a motorist narrowly escaped injury after two mortar bombs were fired at a police car as it answered an emergency call in Downpatrick, Co Down.

LEE CLEGG, the paratrooper freed from jail two years after being convicted of murdering a Roman Catholic joyrider in Northern Ireland, had his case referred back to the Court of Appeal.

LAST-MINUTE negotiations between the Government and Labour have saved the £800 million Millennium Exhibition in Greenwich, south London, despite warnings that it might still founder for want of funds.

SCOTLAND'S food poisoning epidemic claimed its 17th victim as traders' organisations registered alarm at the implications of proposed hygiene regulations following a critical report into the *E. coli* outbreak.

A PRISON SHIP is to be anchored near Portland in Dorset for at least three years to cope with the rapidly rising jail population.

THE former Conservative Home Secretary, Douglas Hurd, is to be the next chairman of the Prison Reform Trust, an organisation opposed to Michael Howard's "prison works" policy.

BRITISH engineering companies being approached to provide machine tools for Iraq armaments will be prosecuted if they deal with Saddam Hussein's regime, the Department of Trade and Industry warned.

PROBATION officers in England and Wales applauded a "major U-turn" after a decision by the Prison Service to stop subjecting them to "humiliating" intimate body searches.

RADIO 1 presenter Chris Evans quit the station after being refused permission to work a four-day week. In two years, Evans has won back nearly 1 million listeners.

A TEENAGE gang member who stabbed the husband of the Director of Public Prosecutions was ordered to be detained for eight years.

THE parents of nine-year-old Zoe Evans, who has been missing since January 11, have been released by the police after questioning.

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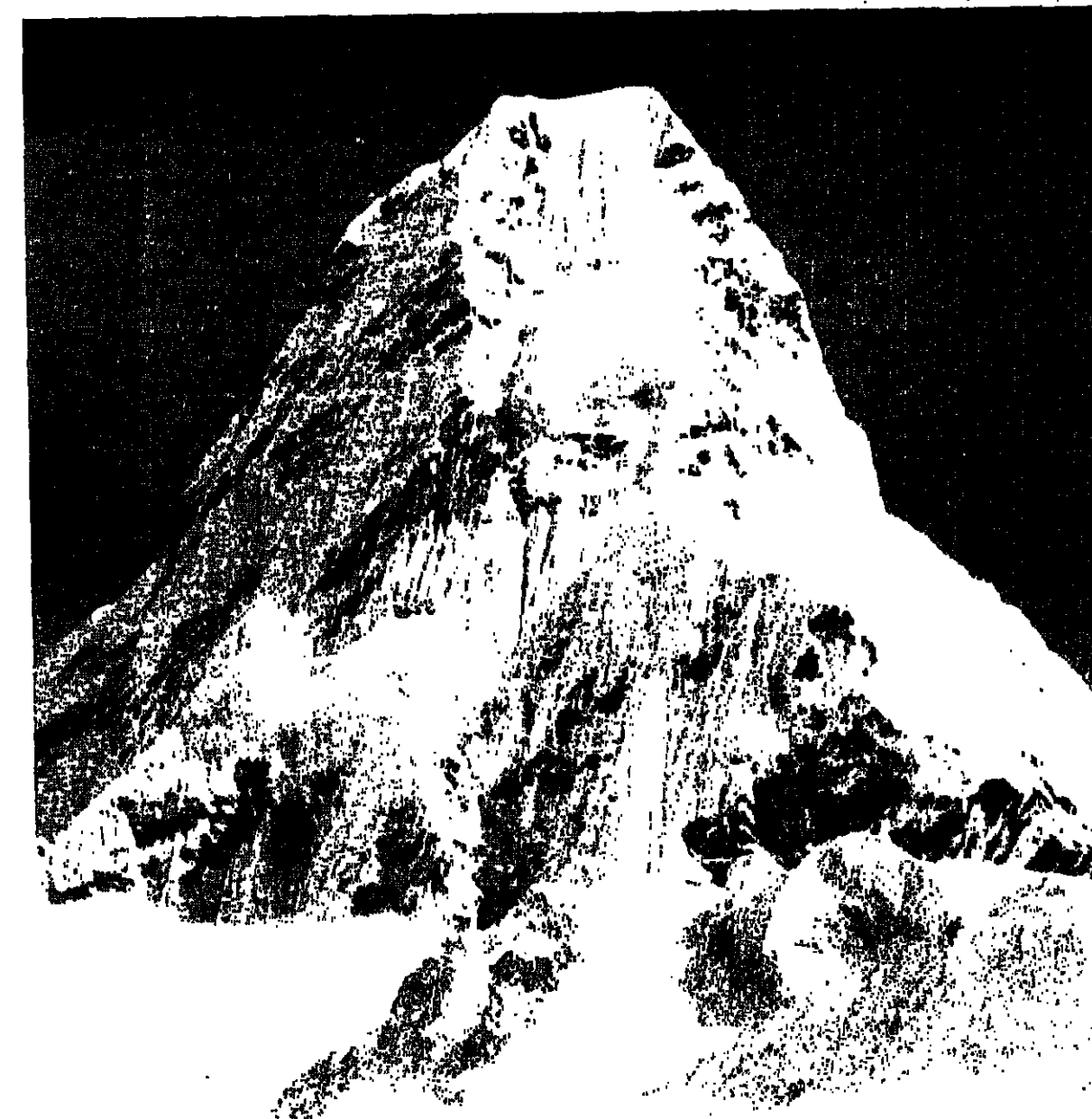
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A halting step forward

ONE MARATHON has been concluded with the Hebron deal: another, longer marathon now begins. The agreement between Yasser Arafat and Benjamin Netanyahu must be welcomed — not least because there was no alternative. Sooner or later another explosion, whether an actual bomb, or the fury of Palestinian frustration, or an Israeli extremist's outrage, would have wrecked what survived of the peace process once and for all. What has been painfully agreed is of advantage to both sides — otherwise it would not have happened. For the Palestinians, it has forced the Likud party to affirm its commitment to a process to which it had been publicly opposed. Mr Netanyahu has been obliged by international pressure to distance himself, at least to some extent, from his core rejectionist constituency. Israelis who are committed to the peace process can now argue — as its diplomats were doing within hours of the agreement — that almost the whole political spectrum is now united behind the Oslo agreement; part wishful thinking but part new reality. As for Mr Netanyahu, the agreement ends a protracted period of damaging uncertainty and puts him on side again with the United States. It contains elements that he can claim are improvements on Oslo — and which may allow him to stall in the future. One huge obstacle was already looming within hours of the agreement.

The Palestinians have accepted a longer timetable for Israeli withdrawal (strictly "redeployment") from the West Bank. That was an inevitable compromise since the whole process had already become so delayed. There is already a niggling worry about the new date for completion — by "mid-1998" — which is only referred to in the US "letter of assurance". But the real problem lies in that passage of the letter committing the US to Israel's definition of its own "security needs". In plain language this means that Israel can reduce, on alleged security grounds, the territory it will renounce in the three stages of withdrawal to a percentage well short of Palestinian expectations. Israeli officials are already suggesting that they may give up 60 per cent or even less, as compared with the anticipated 80-90 per cent. This means in negotiating terms that Mr Netanyahu will use withdrawal — to which Israel was already committed under the terms of the long-concluded interim agreement — as a bargaining counter in the "final status" negotiations, which have hardly even begun. Not surprisingly, Mr Arafat was already challenging this interpretation of the US guarantee last week, insisting that the scope of withdrawal must be jointly negotiated. This is directly counter to the Israeli prime minister's statement to the Knesset that "Israel will be the one that will determine... the scope".

The speed with which the State Department has confirmed Mr Netanyahu's interpretation will only add to Palestinian disillusion with what they perceive to be a bias in US mediation that they fear can only get worse under the new regime of Madeleine Albright. They take some comfort from the greater involvement of some Arab countries in putting pressure on Israel, and urge the European powers to play a greater role too. Israel, for its part, now feels justified in matching future concessions to the Palestinians according to the degree of "reciprocity" that they show in their commitment to "fight terror and prevent violence".

Two familiar causes of dispute — territory and security — will therefore remain as central and contentious as ever while the peace process moves on to unfamiliar ground. The despairing observer might conclude that everything changes but nothing changes. It is still, limply, a sort of step forward.

Playing the Belarus card

THE RUSSIAN State Duma (parliament) may have no chance of forcing Boris Yeltsin out of office: the constitutional provisions are hazy. Alexander Lebed will not succeed with his appeal to the president to step down: his own ambitions are too apparent. Only Boris, it is generally conceded, can get rid of Boris: it may yet come to that. Western governments are saying nothing, as if

merely to speculate about Mr Yeltsin's state of health would make it worse. But in spite of a platoon of cheerful doctors and his release from hospital, Mr Yeltsin looks ill, sounds ill, and — even before his current bout of "pneumonia" — appeared unlikely to fulfil their forecasts of a swift recovery from his multiple heart bypass operation. Alas, poor Boris or, more accurately, poor Russia.

Yet Mr Yeltsin and those around him still have the advantage of incumbency. Already they have used it to good effect, putting Mr Lebed and the communist leader Gennady Zyuganov on the defensive by playing "the Belarus card". The two neighbours signed a union treaty last April. Then Mr Yeltsin's purpose was to display himself as a unifying force, reviving fond memories of the Soviet past, on the eve of the presidential election. The idea of integration was dropped after he won the election. It has now been revived in a letter to the Belarus president, Alexander Lukashenko, proposing binational co-operation and — rather vaguely — some sort of referendum on unification in both countries.

The new move is being presented as a counter to Nato's plans for expansion eastwards. A Russo-Belarus union, it is argued, would push Moscow's borders right up to Poland, sending a clear signal as Nato prepares to extend its guarantees up to the same border from the West. The idea is being credited to the deputy prime minister, Sergei Shakhrai, a fervent nationalist close to Mr Yeltsin who has explicitly presented unification with Belarus as "the most effective answer to Nato's expansion". The terms of Mr Yeltsin's letter are more cautious, warning that the two nations need to develop joint administrative bodies before any referendum takes place. There will be fears that Mr Lukashenko, given a chance, could seek to become the tall that wags the dog, while his despotic behaviour and eccentric views do not make him an easy partner. Mr Yeltsin's supporters may hesitate to take on the burden of Belarus's economy, which is contracting at 10 per cent a year.

Yet many Russians would undoubtedly welcome a move to restore at least a shadow of the old Soviet majesty: the dissolution of the Union was controversial at the time, and took place as a stampede rather than a considered policy. And for some time there was an attempt to preserve a nucleus of the Union including Belarus. There is no particular reason to regard the new proposal with alarm, except as a symbol of the deep disquiet aroused in Moscow by Nato's own plans.

Quietly to the top of the world

LET US HAIL famous heroes, starting with... Boerge Ousland. Both his name and his reputation are shorter than those of his recent rival, Sir Ranulph Twissleton-Wykeham-Flemes. But the Norwegian has crossed Antarctica with the minimum of fuss and bother, and without requiring dramatic rescue. Similarly, another Norwegian once triumphed in Antarctica without either the high expectations or disastrous outcome of a more famous British expedition.

The American balloonist Steve Fossett managed pretty well too. It may be hard to call anyone who is a prosperous securities trader an underdog; but he has succeeded in ballooning long distances at high altitude without the buffing and puffing that accompanied Richard Branson's brief lift into the skies. Though Mr Fossett was forced to curtail his attempt to circumnavigate the world — he landed in northern India on Monday — he has still broken several records and managed to make it look easy. It will always be claimed that he might have succeeded in the ultimate goal if it had not been for the confusion over Libyan airspace. Colonel Gaddafi will be cast as the villain — even though Tripoli had a good debating point. (If there is a UN embargo on flying over its territory, why should a US balloonist be allowed to break it?) Mr Fossett also deserves our admiration for putting up with something which most of his compatriots cannot bear for half an hour: lack of central heating. The secret of his success has been to fly high, fly alone, and fly cold.

As with most understated efforts, his was more dangerous than it seemed: any solo effort places an enormous human burden on the individual concerned. The burden on others if things go wrong must also be considered. But the solution to that, as Mr Ousland has quietly shown, is just to do it right.



Agenda for St Diana

John Vidal urges Princess Diana to help us fill the moral vacuum in society, and offers some ethically challenged dragons for her to slay

DEFY anyone to see children being blown up by anti-personnel mines and not want to shout about the immense cruelty nor want to throttle the politicians who have argued consistently that they are necessary evils.

So when the establishment argues that Princess Diana is "ill-advised", that "she should not meddle in politics", or that "things are not so straightforward", it is hard not to retch. Clearly, what hurts the Government is that when Diana speaks from the gut and calls for a worldwide ban on mines she is not just exposing the awfulness of the weapon, but also the amorality of the people who have spent years protecting the interests of the dealers and the corporations who cynically make them and sell them. The Government.

Ah, but things are not straightforward: you can't just address these things so shallowly, the politicians whinge. And they are dead right. It is impossible to change anything unless there is the political will and a real appetite for change — which there axiomatically cannot be while politicians are so compromised by having their snouts in the trough and their heads in the clouds.

In the case of anti-personnel mines, the only reason that the Conservative party favours their long phase-out at all is that it has been heavily lobbied by the arms-makers who see a whopping new market for expensive hi-tech self-detonating mines, which, they argue, will keep Britain's lead in weapon technology

and be in the "national interest". It is the morality of the slaughterhouse. But "only-what-to-help" Diana — entering uncharted waters, going way beyond her previous concern for Aids and leprosy sufferers — to be cynical, her Angolan trip can be seen as a way to reposition herself as a living saint. She has picked an easy-to-understand, black-and-white issue that she knows will improve her moral standing.

And why should she not be political, her advisers will be asking today? The mine row has not hurt her; indeed, it has left her looking more spotless than Mother Teresa and as PC as the Body Shop's Anita Roddick. Given the political moral vacuum, confusion in the churches, reluctance in business and the dreadful absence of international responsibility in Britain today, there is plenty of room for someone, however expensive their clothes, to star in the moral firmament.

Moreover Diana has a clear run in royal circles, too. Prince Charles is consumed with his own affairs and is in danger of being reinvented by committee as an intensely boring "suit": a safe, value-free business ambassador of the corporate establishment. Don't expect too many pronouncements about difficult political and social issues like the environment from Highgrove these days. Diana could easily take on the pure green mantle.

Her way is clear in every direction. So what issue should she address next? A straw poll at the Guardian suggests that she should first bolster her image as a champion of morality, and move smartly to condemn child slavery in any one of a dozen countries. It can't fail to appeal everywhere in the old world, and will offend a few notable British commercial interests. When the political dust has settled, she could usefully expose British government continued on page 15

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
January 26 1997GUARDIAN WEEKLY
January 26 1997

Putting the state to a test of force

Martin Woollacott

STREET power is one of the permanent facts of modern political life. Nearly three decades after the uprisings of 1968, the tread of marchers' boots on the Tarnac can still present governments with the worst of choices: giving way to demands that undermine their authority or committing crimes against their own citizens.

In South Korea, Serbia, Bulgaria, Indonesia, Burma, Mexico, even to a lesser extent in western Europe, governments face this dilemma. It is one that, in certain circumstances, can be terminal. And, for every country where confrontation is a present reality, there is another where a past struggle on the streets is either the emblem of legitimacy, as in the Philippines or Iran, or a death's head looming over every aspect of politics, as in China.

There is an argument, too, that street power will become more important as national governments become less able to control events within societies reacting to economic change in violent ways. Some comments have already bracketed the strikes in South Korea and those in 1965 in France as examples of the common resistance of workers against liberalisation and globalisation — a revolt, the American columnist William Pfaff suggests, against "the idea that labour rather than investors or management should pay the cost of corporate globalisation".

The causes of physical confrontations between governments and their citizens are diverse, but they overlap, and whether the thrust is mainly against oppression and lack of democracy or against economic change, both sides usually perceive some connection between the two.

The confrontation in South Korea could be said to be mainly economic, but it is also a protest against the abuse of parliament, in sneaking new labour laws through while other parties were absent. In Indonesia and Burma, protests against oppression focus on the handing over, on less than fair terms, of the country's resources, including its workers, to foreign firms.

In China, the question of the relationship to the global economy is central to the leadership's

analysis of the situation. For Deng Xiaoping, the suppression of the Tiananmen demonstrators in 1989 was necessary because China could not, in his view, engage with the world economy without being politically transformed for the worse, unless the proponents of democracy at home were crushed and the party's authority decisively confirmed.

From the angle of the dissenters, and perhaps more generally, the result was a crime for which the present Chinese leaders, and the party, can never be forgiven. Often enough, the difference between rulers and ruled, in relationship to the outside world, can be reduced to the principle that the former want the economic and the latter the democratic connections.

In Burma, restrictions remain on Aung San Suu Kyi, and some universities have been closed after the

Demonstrators in Chicago in 1968 felt they had won simply because TV filmed them being clubbed

demonstrations in December, which were the biggest since Storc (the State Law and Order Restoration Council) crushed an opposition uprising in 1988. What is in the mind of that ominously named body is not easy to know, but its thinking surely includes the idea that by bringing Burma more into the world economy, enough money can be made to finance the state and its army and to buy the acquiescence, if not the affection, of the people.

This long game goes on in many places all over the world. Some forms, of course, are more far gone than others. In Serbia and, to a lesser extent, in Bulgaria, economic privatisation combines with complaints about the anti-democratic nature of the regime to fuel the anger of protesters. Here, it is less the quality of economic connections than the fact that, partly for political reasons, the state has few successful connections of any kind. "Power to the People", said a

London headline over a Serbian story last week. Once demonstrations pass a certain point and when they acquire general objectives, they start pumping in revolutionary oxygen, which is hardly stuff. Office staff shout from windows in Seoul: "We're on your side" to workers marching below. In Sofia, 50,000 people surrounded parliament, blowing whistles and burning red flags.

These, exhilarating enough, are so far just tendencies. When real revolution comes it brings with it something unique, which is a whole society acting physically together on the streets — or so it seems.

Then there is the revolution as fun. In an account of the student contingents in the Belgrade demonstrations, the Serbian novelist Vladimir Arsenijevic writes: "Among the political placards one is likely to see a national flag, of Brazil, for example, a poster of Pamela Anderson Lee from Baywatch, a banner with Bob Marley's face printed against the sunny national colours of Jamaica."

Life stops, except for this drama of the people and of the security forces, police or army, and a huddle of government leaders in an office a kilometre away, waiting for the reports. What is the core of the drama, staged when demonstrations reach the level where they either challenge government to make radical concessions or even propose to bring it down altogether?

Whether or not some of the demonstrators, like European radicals in the sixties, believe that the point of action is to force the state to reveal its inherently violent nature, the effect is more or less along those lines. The government can find itself in a situation where it has to use — or in the event it does use — ruthless force. Back in 1968, American demonstrators in Chicago felt they had won simply because television had filmed them being clubbed by the police.

If government fails to be violent enough, there are sometimes a few who will do violence to themselves to achieve the same effect. In South Korea there have already been two attempts to emulate Jan Palach, who was himself emulating the South Vietnamese monks whose fire deaths helped bring down Diem.

Agenda for St Diana

Continued from page 14
shilly-shallying on sex tourism. With the right people embarrassed and the populace impressed, she could then undertake a world tour to address the scandal of overseas aid and the way it has been cut to ribbons yet is still being abused by corporations. A Schumacher Lecture broadside at the World Bank and the IMF for perpetuating Third World debt would earn her points, as would well-timed outrage at the tobacco companies, the baby-milk makers and some of the mining companies. Indeed, the quickest way to sainthood might be to say something outrageous and precipitate a massive show-trial libel case.

But it's early days. The princess could throw caution to the immediate wind and form an alliance with Lynda Chalker, the formidable minister for overseas development, to

campaign for a huge increase in Third World contraception availability and primary health care. If that's not controversial enough, she could join Amnesty International, International Pen and Victims of Torture. If she visited Nicaraguan coffee plantations to see how "fair trade" improved the life of *campesinos* for next to no cost, she would stack up the points in heaven.

But a proto-saint will not be able to help treading on Charles's old environment agenda. This she could hijack in a trice by visiting Brazil, joining for a week the army of landless peasants and taking on Brazilian and Malaysian corporations for their rainforest destruction. She could swing back across the Far East, smash up a Hawk jet to prevent more genocide, and invest her fortune in ethical stock.

A well-orchestrated swim in the Euphrates or the Nile might graphically illustrate the coming reality of water wars. If she then declared herself a vegetarian, her way would be clear to champion animal-rights issues, and campaign against hunt-

ing, the new bio-technologies and the patenting of life. Street cred would improve if she got herself arrested in a protest at Newbury or Manchester Airport.

And if she found a taste for social equality, Diana could run riot in Britain, for a start condemning policies that make one-third of all children born in the UK officially poor by European Union definition. Her views on beggars, bicycles, servants would be courted. War heroes, social workers, pensioners, children and all the creatures without voice would queue to touch her garments. Were she to sell the Big Issue magazine and campaign for free buses, the Government might fall.

But before embarking on such a moral crusade, though, she should know that "volunteering" is now no longer seen as purely altruistic. The greatest gains are thought to accrue to the volunteer, who gains deep self-knowledge. For example, someone who wears £10,000 dresses yet who has experienced real poverty may be expected no longer to be so committed to the material world.

macy. They may face the state, as they did in eastern Europe, with the grim fact that they can stay in power only by a use of violence that the rulers themselves cannot countenance; or with the fact that the use of violence cannot be forgotten or forgiven.

A trial of that principle goes on all the time in countries ruled by governments that took such action and survived. When Megawati Sukarnoputri, Sukarno's daughter and leader of the Democratic party, told the Indonesian government: "If we wanted to, we could bring millions of people on to the streets of every major city and town," the threat she was making was to put them to such a test, even though no one knew whether she could deliver. It is a test that more and more governments may face in the future.

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In Brief

MORGAN Grenfell Asset Management, still reeling from the Peter Young debacle, faced a fresh crisis after suspending Nicola Horlick, the head of its UK pension fund, over a "potential breach of contract" for attempting to take some of her colleagues to a rival bank.

FIERCE policy debate between the Treasury and the Bank of England over the strength of the pound intensified as sterling's rally took it back towards its old bands within the European exchange rate mechanism.

THE number of people unemployed in Britain has plunged to a six-year low — down to 6.7 per cent last month from 6.9 per cent in November. But experts hint the figures were meaningless because of new benefit rules under the Job Seekers Allowance.

RAYTHEON joined the élite of American weapons makers after winning the bidding war for the defence assets of Hughes Electronics, a subsidiary of General Motors, for \$9.5 billion.

SIR Freddie Laker and Richard Branson have launched a last-ditch attempt to have British Airways' planned merger with American Airlines referred to the UK Monopolies and Mergers Commission.

FIAT chairman Cesare Romiti went on trial in Turin on charges of accounting fraud and making illegal payments to politicians and overseas managers.

OLIVETTI announced a provisional agreement to sell its troubled personal computer division for \$190 million to Piedmont International, part of Centenary Corporation.

BANC ONE, one of America's top regional banks, has vaulted into the top tier of US credit card companies by announcing the acquisition of First USA for \$7.5 billion. The deal will make Banc One the third biggest credit card issuer.

FOREIGN EXCHANGES

	Starting rate January 20	Starting rate January 13
Australia	2.1324-2.1264	2.1418-2.1441
Belgium	18.93-19.00	18.64-18.69
Canada	55.01-55.71	54.62-54.66
Denmark	2.2295-2.2277	2.2482-2.2500
France	10.26-10.30	10.09-10.10
Germany	9.10-9.10	8.94-8.94
Italy	2.6987-2.7015	2.6506-2.6522
Japan	12.85-12.87	12.90-12.91
Netherlands	10.27-10.28	10.154-10.1571
Spain	2.016-2.020	2.077-2.080
Switzerland	105.66-106.09	103.95-104.13
Taiwan	8.014-8.043	7.973-7.977
UK	2.1512-2.1514	2.1704-2.1711
US	10.62-10.63	10.61-10.62
Sweden	21.46-21.48	20.46-20.47
South Africa	2.054-2.058	2.092-2.095
USA	1.652-1.654	1.6378-1.6385
ECU	1.392-1.392	1.3891-1.3890

FTSE 100 Share Index up 88.7 at 4184.0, FTSE 250 Index up 48.0 at 4880.2. DAX down 88.00 at 3353.75.

Running on automatic pilot

Israel's political storms have put the Thatcherite revolution on hold, writes Alex Brummer

ISRAEL'S economy appears intent on mimicking the Italian model. Despite political assassination, terrorist bombings and reprisals, a soldier running amok on the West Bank and a government, under Benjamin Netanyahu, apparently determined to win prizes for impetuosity and incompetence, the economy is defying gravity.

Only this month the International Monetary Fund upgraded Israel's status from developing to industrial nation. Any one of the political shocks since Yitzhak Rabin's assassination some 14 months ago would, in almost any other market economy, have deflated confidence. Expansion has slowed, but it would in most economies seeking to defy 15.5 per cent interest rates.

Israeli society has been polarised in the debate about secularisation versus creeping fundamentalism, but business change and economic restructuring continues. Despite the stuttering peace process, which has put hopes for intra-regional economic progress on indefinite hold, life as it was before assassination has not been snuffed out.

"I must admit the temperature has gone down," remarks Oded Eran, the Israeli foreign affairs official most deeply involved in the economic aspects of the peace process. But it is economic ties inside the region, rather than the liberalisation and globalisation of the Israeli economy, which have been most affected. Eran points out that a \$800 million public offering in New York this month by the Israeli electricity company was oversubscribed and increased in value to \$800 million, symbolising international confidence despite the stop-start which led to completion of the Hebron pull-out last week.

Finance minister Dan Meridor, a cool lawyer and Likud dove, is less sanguine: "Over the last five years investment has been quite unprecedented. Of course, this has to do with the stability of the peace process. If we have 1996 revisited, terror like the buses in February and March, Grapes of Wrath in April and then the tunnel riots in September, then we have a bad year in tourism." The worry is that the tourist barometer could be an early sign of trouble from the business community.

Ford threatens to shut Halewood car plant

Guardian Reporters

FORD UK is threatening to close the whole of its Halewood assembly plant on Merseyside, with the loss of more than 4,500 jobs, unless it gets a government grant towards the cost of producing a new vehicle there.

The group has indicated that it is prepared to build a new "people carrier" — a multi-purpose vehicle — at Halewood when production of the Escort ends in 2000, but only if it gets adequate financial backing from the Government. If not, vehicle assembly at Halewood will end and the project will go overseas.

With a government perceived as weak and vacillating, much of the responsibility for steering the economy has fallen on Jacob Frenkel, a Chicago-trained PhD in economics who became governor of the Bank of Israel in 1991 after a stint as chief economic adviser to the IMF in Washington.

Frenkel, who was courted as a potential finance minister in the early days of Netanyahu's cabinet-building, wields a double influence over economic policy. As a special adviser to the prime minister on economic issues, he has sought to impress upon the administration the importance of taming the budget deficit, which careered out of control in 1996. As the nation's central banker he is seeking to make the inflation rate a totem of his success.

On both counts 1996 was deeply disappointing, and the determination to restore the stability of budgetary policy and inflation will be critical to achieving medium-term growth of 5 per cent until the millennium.

On the budget front, Israel experienced a British-style phenomenon in 1996 as revenues failed to meet expectations; the deficit ended up at 4.7 per cent of total wealth as against 2.5 per cent.

"This is outrageous really," says Tsipi Galyan, who runs revenue administration at the finance ministry. She believes that the combination of \$7 billion in new taxes and spending cuts — imposed under Netanyahu's first much disputed budget — will bring borrowing down.

However, Israel's prospects of shrinking a bloated public sector largely rest on the transformation from the introspective, controlled economy of the 1980s to a modern, liberal economy. This will largely depend on Netanyahu's ability to push through industrial restructuring and privatisation.

Much to Frenkel's disquiet it looked as if Israel might slip back into its sloppy inflationary habits last year. After the Peres government conceded some over-generous wage settlements, prices rose in the first six months of last year at a 13-14 per cent annual rate before interest rates were ratcheted up, bursting the property bubble and reining in inflation, which fell sharply in the final months of the year.

Frenkel is adopting the British practice of setting an inflation target to prevent the Bank of Israel drifting into the same difficulty again. "I am very impressed with the Bank of England's targets. They provide much more transparency." Israel has set itself an inflation range of 7-10 per cent for 1997 and a longer-term target which seeks to bring prices levels down to average OECD levels by 2001.

The effort led by Frenkel and Meridor to restore the macro-economic framework will only work if it is accompanied by the correct supply-side policies. This means pressing on with policies to maintain Israel's technological investment so that new industries such as biotechnology and life sciences can dis-

place declining manufacturing, such as textiles.

With a surprisingly large number of technology start-ups proving successful, the challenge is to provide better private finance flows to replace state support. This, according to industry overlord Shaul Glickman, means developing a better institutional investment framework, including vehicles for technological development.

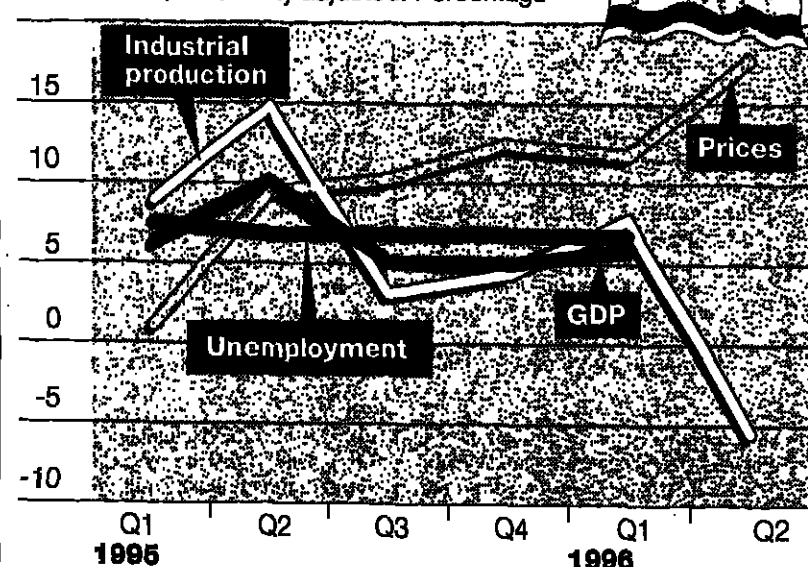
The other leg of change is revamping state-owned industries, such as telecoms, transport and electricity, so that the power of the Histadrut trade unions is broken and the enterprises prepared for privatisation.

At the core of the strategy is state phone company Bezeq, now feeling the heat of competition from a newly-licensed European consortium including Deutsche Telekom, and a second group, Zohav, whose main investor is South-west Bell of the US.

The Thatcherite agenda is at the heart of Netanyahu's domestic agenda. But with peace in abeyance, radical industrial and economic change has been on the back burner: it was as much as Israel could do to pass the budget. The realisation that peace and prosperity are inextricably linked is recognised by finance minister Dan Meridor, who spent much of the past week trying to persuade Jordan that closer investment and trade ties are essential to the region's progress. But with the war of words over Hebron and the West Bank withdrawals bitterly dividing the cabinet, the economy and commerce are navigating by automatic pilot.

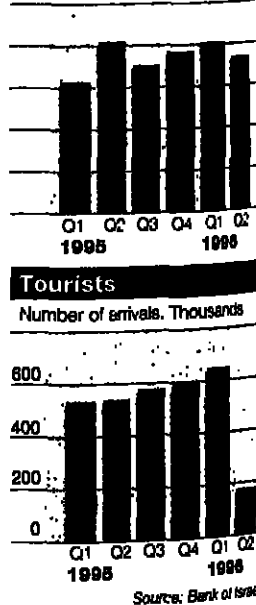
Changing Israel

Annual rates, seasonally adjusted. Percentage



Trade deficit

Million



Source: Bank of Israel

Gingrich Faces Reprimand and Fine

John E. Yang and Helen Dewar

HOUSE SPEAKER Newt Gingrich, R-Georgia, agreed to face an unprecedented reprimand from his colleagues and pay \$300,000 in additional sanctions after the House ethics subcommittee concluded that his use of tax-deductible money for political purposes represented either "intentional or...reckless" disregard of House rules.

After a week of bitter, partisan disagreement, the full ethics committee finally released the report of special counsel James M. Cole outlining the case against Gingrich, in which Cole said he had concluded that the speaker had violated federal law and had led to the ethics panel in an effort to force the committee to dismiss the complaint against him.

The report, whose findings were aired in a Capitol Hill hearing last week, set the stage for a resolution of the investigation into Gingrich's actions. The probe has lasted for nearly two years and has split the House into warring partisan camps.

If the full House accepts the recommendation of the ethics panel, Gingrich will become the first speaker to be reprimanded for his conduct, and would begin his second term as speaker politically weakened and personally diminished.

Cole told the panel in the televised hearing that the subcommittee of two Republicans and two Democrats was reluctant to accept his conclusions that Gingrich had broken federal law and had lied on more than one occasion during the inquiry. But he said they agreed that what Gingrich did was either "reckless" or "intentional," adding, "Neither choice reflects creditably on the House of Representatives."

Moments after Cole spoke, Gingrich's lawyer, J. Randolph Evans, said Gingrich had agreed to the proposed punishment in the case. "The speaker himself has apologized to the subcommittee, to the House and to the American people," he said.

Cole disclosed that in its original statement of alleged violations, the subcommittee had charged Gingrich with three counts of violating House rules, two for having failed to seek proper legal advice on the tax laws and one for providing the committee with inaccurate information.

But Cole said committee members were anxious to bring the ethics case to a swift conclusion without a lengthy disciplinary hearing, which he said could have "put the House in some turmoil for up to six months." So the members encouraged him to enter into negotiations with Gingrich and his lawyers.

As a result of those negotiations, completed on December 20, the three counts were combined into a single count of engaging "in conduct that did not reflect creditably on the House of Representatives."

In return, Gingrich agreed to admit to the violations, face a reprimand and, in an unprecedented move, reimburse the committee \$300,000 to cover some of the costs of the investigation.

Cole added that he and the subcommittee believe news reports indicate Gingrich violated a provision of the agreement that barred "having surrogates sent out to comment on the matter." But the panel decided against taking any action in the interest of a speedy resolution of the case.

In addition, the panel has not yet resolved complaints that Gingrich received improper gifts, contributions and support from GOPAC, a political action committee he once headed, and the Internal Revenue Service is probing the tax issues.

Gingrich made no statement about the case. He spoke to the Republican National Committee meeting, where he received a standing ovation, but did not mention the ethics investigation.

His only public statement came last month, when he acknowledged he brought discredit to the House by failing to ensure that financing of various projects would not violate federal tax law and by giving the ethics committee false information. He said the violations were not intentional.

Rep. Nancy L. Johnson, R-Connecticut, chairman of the ethics panel, called the proposed penalty "tough and unprecedented. The

speaker of the House must be held to the highest ethical standards. No one is above the rules of the House."

Rep. Benjamin L. Cardin (Maryland), the top Democrat on the investigative subcommittee that brought the charges said: "It isn't a pleasant matter to sit in judgment...but it must be done...This is a sad day."

David S. Broder adds: With the penalty for the admitted ethics violations of Gingrich now all but settled, attention is shifting to the damage the bloody battle over his case has done to the reputation of Congress. Former members of the House and other sympathetic observers say it has been severe and it will take more than public apologies from the speaker to heal the wounds.

"Back in Illinois last week," said former House Republican leader Robert H. Michael, "people were asking, 'My God, what is going on down there? When are they going to get down to business?'"

"I think the damage has been considerable," said former representative Robert Kastenmeier, D-Wisconsin. "It isn't Gingrich alone. It's so murky and there's so much manipulation by political figures, people think the misuse of campaign funds is widespread."

A national poll completed earlier this month but not yet released showed that the ethics battle has lowered the approval score of Congress by a handful of points.

Austria's Chancellor Resigns

William Drozdzak in Berlin

AUSTRIAN Chancellor Franz Vranitzky resigned on Saturday last week after nearly 11 years in power and announced that he would be replaced by Finance Minister Viktor Klima.

After an emergency meeting of his ruling Social Democratic Party, Vranitzky, 59, said he decided to leave office voluntarily and signs he had grown exasperated with constant political feuding while presiding over a fractious coalition with the conservative People's Party.

"I thought that after so many years it would be wise to transfer responsibility to younger people in the party," Vranitzky told reporters after a two-hour session with party elders.

"It was important to me to hand over my job at a time when the country is not burdened by a [political] crisis and we are moving in a very positive direction in terms of Europe," he said.

As Europe's second-longest serving leader after Germany's Helmut Kohl, Vranitzky acquired respect at home and abroad for guiding Austria into the European Union and making his country face up to its collaboration with the Third Reich. During his first years in office, Austria enjoyed an economic boom that lifted Vranitzky's popularity to record levels. He also traveled extensively abroad, striving to improve his country's image after the scandal over the hidden Nazi past of president Kurt Waldheim.

But recently voters have expressed growing disenchantment with the governing alliance headed by Vranitzky that links the two parties that have dominated Austria in the postwar era. Many have turned instead toward the Freedom Party of right-wing populist Jörg Haider.

A telegraphic figure with athletic looks and youthful vigor, Haider, 46, has steadily broadened his appeal at the expense of Vranitzky through harsh attacks on the government for failing to stamp out corruption and halt the influx of foreign immigrants. Last October, Haider's party confirmed its ascendancy as Europe's strongest far-right movement by capturing 28 percent of the vote in European Parliament elections. Its tally nearly eclipsed that of Vranitzky's Social Democrats, who suffered their worst electoral result since 1918.

In a recent interview, Vranitzky said he was saddened and perplexed that his countrymen did not seem to realize that Haider was a racist hate-monger who could offer no easy solutions to modern-day difficulties, such as coping with the forces of a global economy and the limitations of the welfare state.

The outgoing chancellor said he has no plans to assume any other political posts. "I have done my job. I've given my all."

Salinger's First Book In 34 Years

David Streitfeld

J.D. SALINGER, whose life has been one long campaign to erase himself from the public eye, is reversing himself somewhat at the age of 78. Next month will see the publication of *Hapworth 16, 1924*, the first new Salinger book in 34 years.

Salinger is one of the most enduring and influential postwar American writers, and any New York publisher would have paid a bundle for the rights to the story, which appeared in the *New Yorker* in 1965.

But in the literary coup of the decade, the book will be issued by Orchis Press, a small press in Alexandria, Virginia, run by George Mason University English professor Roger Lathbury.

Phyllis Westberg, Salinger's agent, confirmed the deal last week but would say no more.

Lathbury was not much more forthcoming, especially on the key issue of how he had gotten the approval of a writer so secretive that he had his agent throw away hundreds of letters he wrote, and so aloof he had her throw away all his fan mail without reading it.

Nor would Lathbury talk about such relatively simple things as how many copies he was printing. "This is a book meant for readers, not for collectors," he said. "Part of the reason for not revealing a press run is to discourage investing. I want people to read the story."

Until now, that's been possible only for those who have sought out the June 19, 1965, issue of the *New Yorker*. "I read it when it came out," said the 51-year-old Lathbury. "I think it's true."



J. D. Salinger, caught in a rare picture

PHOTOGRAPH BY PAUL ADAM

That character is longstanding Salinger hero — Seymour Glass, whose suicide in the story "A Perfect Day for Bananafish" is an oft-analyzed Salinger moment. Couched in the form of a letter from the 7-year-old Seymour to his family, *Hapworth 16, 1924* spans the whole issue of the magazine, running from Page 32 to 113.

In "In Search of J.D. Salinger," Ian Hamilton wrote that the story is "a weird, exasperating tour de force... 'Take it or leave it' is Salinger's unmistakable retort to any grumbles from the non-matrons among his audience (indeed makes certain) that most of them will leave it... The Glass family has, in this last story, become both Salinger's subject and his readership, his creatures and his companions."

Hapworth is "like the Dead Sea" of two Republicans and two Democrats was reluctant to accept his conclusions that Gingrich had broken federal law and had lied on more than one occasion during the inquiry. But he said they agreed that what Gingrich did was either "reckless" or "intentional," adding, "Neither choice reflects creditably on the House of Representatives."

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A Democrat At the Center Of Politics

OBITUARY
Paul E. Tsongas

PAUL E. TSONGAS, the former Democratic senator from Massachusetts who survived a bout with cancer and briefly was his party's front-runner in the 1992 presidential race, died of pneumonia on January 18 at a Boston hospital after being hospitalized for two weeks.

Mr. Tsongas, 55, entered Brigham and Women's Hospital on January 3 for treatment of a liver ailment that doctors said was related to the painful series of bone marrow transplants that had prolonged his life for more than a decade. Doctors at the hospital said that they saw no sign that the cancer had returned.

Mr. Tsongas, a soft-spoken politician known for his dry wit and self-deprecating humor, became a voice for pro-business Democrats and in recent years proposed the creation of a centrist third party. He became the first Democrat to challenge President George Bush in the 1992 campaign, and he clashed with Bill Clinton in arguing that deficit reduction should become the president's top priority.

President Clinton called Mr. Tsongas "a great American.... He cared deeply about his beloved state of Massachusetts and about our country and its future. In a life dedicated to public service, he set an unparalleled example of integrity, candor and commitment. On behalf of the entire nation, Hillary and I extend to his family our deepest sympathy and our profound gratitude for his life and work."

"Paul was a great friend, a great congressman for the people of Lowell and a great senator for the state of Massachusetts," said Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, D-Massachusetts, a longtime political colleague. "He had a special dedication to public service and a special vision of America as it ought to be."

Mr. Tsongas's political career appeared finished and life winding down when he left the Senate in 1984 after being diagnosed with non-Hodgkin's lymphoma. A 1984 Washington Post feature describes the young senator cradling one night, weeping as he wonders to himself whether she would ever grow old enough to remember him.



Paul Tsongas... proved lavish TV advertising wasn't essential to US political success and ideas could still sell

But he underwent a then-experimental bone marrow transplant that gave him a reprieve. Mr. Tsongas vowed at the time to leave public office and spend more time with his family.

"Everybody always assumes that they are here forever, that there is time to do everything, that you can make up for things later," Mr. Tsongas said. "What I want to make sure is that I am not ever going to forget that I am not here forever. If they said they could cure me tomorrow, I hope that I would look at life the way I look at it now. That I would never go back to the old assumptions. I don't want to forget what that agony taught me."

After years away from the political arena, Mr. Tsongas dove into the 1992 presidential fray and advocated radical treatment for what he and other Democrats saw as an ailing economy. Mr. Tsongas, though, parted ways with others in his party and advocated a concentrated attack on the deficit to stave off fiscal disaster for future generations.

Although Mr. Tsongas declared himself cured of cancer, his health and the disclosure of medical

records for other presidential candidates became an issue in the 1992 campaign. When funds and support dwindled, he dropped out of the campaign in March of that year, and in November he again was diagnosed with cancer.

Paul Ethemios Tsongas was born in Lowell, Massachusetts, on February 14, 1941. He graduated from Dartmouth College in 1962 and received a law degree from Yale University law school.

Mr. Tsongas served as a Peace Corps volunteer in Ethiopia from 1962-64 and worked as deputy assistant attorney general in Massachusetts.

He began his political career with election to the Lowell City Council and later served as a Middlesex County commissioner before winning election to the U.S. House and then the Senate.

Mr. Tsongas is survived by his wife, Nicola, and three daughters.

Brian Moor

Paul Ethemios Tsongas, politician, born February 14, 1941, died January 18, 1997

U.S. Snubs Canada On Land Mine Ban

Dana Priest

THE CLINTON administration announced last week that it will not join a Canadian-led effort to seek an early international treaty to ban land mines. Instead, the United States will take a slower United Nations route that analysts agree is unlikely to achieve a ban in the near future.

The U.S. decision represents a victory for the military's top generals, who have wanted to retain the use of land mines in Korea and in future conflicts. It is a disappointment for the growing number of international organizations—including the International Committee of the Red Cross, the Catholic Church, veterans and relief organizations—that are urging quick action.

"This is deliberately aimed at not getting a ban any time soon," said Stephen Goose of Human Rights Watch. "This allows the U.S. to say it's doing something while assuring there's no rapid progress."

White House spokesman Michael McCurry also announced that the U.S. would stop exporting and giving away antipersonnel land mines, which it has done to a small degree for the last several years. He also said Clinton had decided to impose a cap "on the current level of inventory" of several million antipersonnel mines.

"The United States hopes that nations of the world will work with us to create that safety and ban the scourge of land mines, which every year kill, wound or maim more than 25,000 civilians," said McCurry.

Sen. Patrick Leahy, D-Vermont, the longtime lead U.S. proponent of an international ban on land mines, said he would monitor closely talks within the United Nations Conference on Disarmament, which were set to begin this week, and that "if it goes as slowly as I think it will and we do not see a very strong movement by mid-year, I will urge the administration to reconsider and become active" in the Canadian process.

The Ottawa Conference, which will hold its first set of working sessions in Vienna in February, aims to draft an international treaty banning the use, export, stockpiling and production of land mines by December. But Russia and China, which have been major exporters and users of

land mines, have indicated they would not sign such a treaty.

Proponents of the Ottawa process have said they hope to create a moral standard that all countries would one day feel compelled to respect. Also, several countries with the most serious, immediate land mine problems—Mozambique, Angola and Cambodia—have indicated they might sign on. The route the U.S. favors, the U.N. Conference on Disarmament, includes Russia and China and operates by consensus. This means that any ban agreed upon would include these two countries, but it also means they would have a veto over even getting the talks started and on the outcome.

"We think we have a better chance of persuading China and Russia with a 'head-on approach,'" said Robert Bell, defense specialist for the National Security Council (NSC). He said there was still a military benefit to using land mines, and that a ban that did not include Russia and China would amount to "giving up the military benefit but not achieving our humanitarian goal."

But Leahy said the Ottawa Conference "is just too bold thinking for the Pentagon."

Many retired generals, including the commander of allied forces in the Persian Gulf War, Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf, advocate an immediate international ban. Gen. George A. Joulwan, NATO supreme commander in Europe, said this month that the value of land mines to future deployments "is part of the discussion" within the Pentagon.

There are an estimated 100 million land mines in 60 countries. They are weapons of choice for poorly funded insurgencies and state-funded counterinsurgencies, and their main victims are women and children.

Clinton has wanted to be perceived as a leader on the land mine issue, but his policy decisions have consistently fallen short in the eyes of relief workers and agencies who work to heal the victims and sanitize the thousands of acres of land made unusable by land mines. Sources said Vice President Al Gore, in particular, has been a proponent of the Pentagon's position, although Secretary of State-designate Madeleine K. Albright has pushed for a stronger stance.

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Peru's Prison System Has Few Defenders

Douglas Farah in Lima

WHEN journalist Jose Antonio Alvarez and his wife Rosa were arrested in 1992 on suspicion of being Marxist guerrillas, they entered a justice system where summary condemnation and brutal confinement were the norm.

When she was released after a year, and he after four years, there were no apologies from the Peruvian government, no offers of reparations, no expressions of regret.

"I was essentially kidnapped for more than four years," said Jose Alvarez. "Then, in the end, they said it was a mistake, and I should just get on with my life. There were never any charges against me. It was surreal. I lost part of my life."

That experience has been shared by hundreds of other Peruvians caught in President Alberto Fujimori's largely successful drive to defeat two guerrilla groups, Shining Path and the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement, known by its Spanish initials MRTA.

The harshness of the conditions inside Peru's prisons, where suspects arrested under the anti-terrorism laws can spend years without being formally charged, is one of the chief complaints of MRTA guerrillas holding hostages inside the Japanese ambassador's residence in Lima. The commandos are demanding that some 400 of their comrades, most being held in the same special prisons where the Alvarizes were detained, be freed in exchange for the hostages. The MRTA has repeatedly referred to the prisons as "tombs."

Rosa Alvarez said she was held in a cell that measured 6 feet by 6 feet. She was given one meal a day and received no medical attention for seven months, even though she was pregnant when she was arrested.

Her daughter suffered a brain lesion at birth.

Jose Alvarez and two other men were in a similar-sized cell. He said the three shared two cement beds and were allowed out of the cell for only 30 minutes a day.

In all of the special prisons, human-rights workers said, tuberculosis is rampant, and insanity among inmates is not unusual because of the isolation. Suicide attempts are common, the rights workers said, usually carried out by inmates banging their heads against the walls.

While human-rights groups have been unanimous in condemning MRTA's hostage-taking, many human-rights workers said they had been pressing the government to deal with the problem of prison conditions for years, to little avail.

"The prison conditions in this country are inhuman," said Enrique Bernales, a former senator who now works with the Andean Commission of Jurists, which monitors regional legal issues. "What is being said about them is not an exaggeration."

The anti-terrorism laws—mandating "faceless" courts, where neither the prosecutors nor the judges are seen, and an especially harsh prison regimen for those convicted of terrorism and treason—were enacted by Fujimori in April 1992, after he summarily dissolved the Congress and placed the judiciary under executive control in what was called at the time a "self-coup."

The laws were enacted as Shining Path and the MRTA were carrying out nationwide campaigns of economic sabotage, assassinations, often of judges, and military actions. Coupled with an all-out military offensive against the two groups, the laws helped weaken the insurgencies to the point where they no longer pose a threat to the state.

But national and international human rights groups say the laws go too far, allowing rampant abuses with little chance of redress, and violating international treaties and norms.

For example, suspects can be jailed for up to six years for "defending terrorism" under an ill-defined law that has been used to silence political opponents, the press and human-rights organizations. Jose Alvarez was arrested under that law because he worked for magazines and newspapers critical of the gov-

ernment, although prosecutors produced no articles on which to base the arrest.

"Those caught in the system are presumed guilty and have minimal opportunities to demonstrate their innocence," said an August 1996 report by Human Rights Watch/Americas, a New York-based group. "Faceless military and civilian courts, conducting secret trials behind prison walls, continue

to sentence Peruvians to decades of imprisonment in life-threatening conditions without offering them the basic judicial process guarantees required by international human rights law."

Fujimori, in a May 22 interview with NBC, admitted there were cases "where unjust detentions took place.... we recognize such a situation exists, and we are doing all we can."

The Alvarizes related their stories matter-of-factly, showing little bitterness over their detentions. "Our trials lasted five minutes, and we could do nothing to defend ourselves," said Rosa Alvarez, 31, at the couple's modest home. "Once you are arrested, they say, 'Defend yourself,' but there is no way, because you do not know who accused you, you don't know what the evidence is, you have no access to anything. You have no resources at all."

The United States formally criticized the system after U.S. citizen Lori Berenson was arrested in November 1995, on charges of terrorism for supporting the MRTA. She was tried and sentenced to life in prison in January last year. She is being held at a prison high up in the Andes, in a cell with no glass on the windows despite freezing temperatures at night. Food is scarce, and the cells are bare.

After her sentencing, the State Department said it "regrets Ms. Berenson was not tried in an open civilian court with full rights of legal defense, in accordance with international judicial norms."

Of the estimated 5,000 people jailed for crimes of terrorism or treason since 1992, the National Coordinator of Human Rights identified 1,304 as probably being innocent. Of these "probably" innocent suspects, 765 eventually were found not guilty, although most were incarcerated for more than three years. Another 110 were pardoned after their cases were reviewed by a special board. But 598 remain in prison, trying to get their cases reviewed. Thirty-one are fugitive escapees.

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The United States formally criticized the system after U.S. citizen Lori Berenson was arrested in November 1995, on charges of terrorism for supporting the MRTA. She was tried and sentenced to life in prison in January last year. She is being held at a prison high up in the Andes, in a cell with no glass on the windows despite freezing temperatures at night. Food is scarce, and the cells are bare.

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Of the estimated 5,000 people jailed for crimes of terrorism or treason since 1992, the National Coordinator of Human Rights identified 1,304 as probably being innocent. Of these "probably" innocent suspects, 765 eventually were found not guilty, although most were incarcerated for more than three years. Another 110 were pardoned after their cases were reviewed by a special board. But 598 remain in prison, trying to get their cases reviewed. Thirty-one are fugitive escapees.

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counter-force. Researchers are experimenting by augmenting the system with fiber-optic sensors and polymer composites.

Piezoelectric sensors might also be employed on the grips of handguns that will only fire when they detect the unique pressure-pattern "signature" of the owner's hand.

Piezoelectric substances can respond within thousandths of a second, but they are capable of stretching only a fraction of 1 percent of their dimensions. So researchers are testing them in combination with a second class of smart materials called "shape memory alloys" (SMAs).

Much slower but far more flexible, these metals "remember" their original configuration even when deformed as much as 15 percent and return to it when heated. SMAs thus have enormous potential as force generators. An SMA wire "tendon," when heated electrically, could bend the leading or trailing edge of a flexible airplane wing by several degrees. SMA materials can also be built into spiral shapes as "torque tubes" that twist when activated.

The same kind of sensor-actuator technology may result in stealth submarines. Their acoustically hypersensitive smart skins would detect the pressure of an incoming sonar wave and automatically generate an equal but opposite counter-pressure that would cancel out the ping. With nothing reflected back to the enemy boat, the sub would be invisible.

Hundreds of critical systems in modern life, he said, require this kind of "health" monitoring to determine maintenance needs, and "ideally, you'd like the structure to tell you that itself."

Other kinds of sensors, in concert with smart materials, will produce custom systems for a host of problems. For example, Sirkis said, many electric utilities now test the nation's millions of aging wooden telephone poles by a labor-intensive and time-consuming method: A human inspector bonks the pole with a hammer and listens. If it sounds rotten, the inspector takes a core sample. So Sirkis's center is designing a set of acidity, tension and other sensors that will notify inspectors remotely when a pole is beyond the pale.

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Act of faith... a vigil outside the Japanese embassy in Lima, where rebels are holding hostages. The harshness of conditions in Peru's jails is one of the guerrillas' chief complaints

PHOTO: SCOTT DALTON

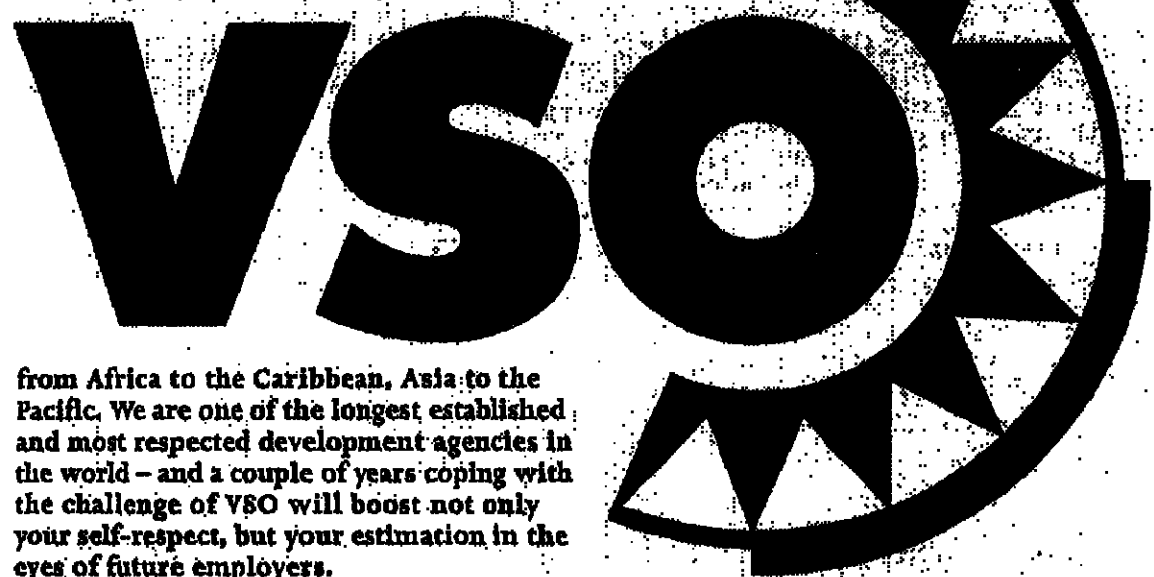
'Smart' Structures With a Sense of Self

High-tech diagnostic systems being developed will improve safety and efficiency, writes Curt Supplee

SOME DAY soon, "intelligent" airplane wings may flex themselves like fish tails, autonomously changing shape to modify lift or drag. Bridges and telephone poles could "feel" when they're about to break, send out a warning and then reinforce their components automatically. Air conditioners may suppress their own vibration. Handguns may fire only when held

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ELT to benefit from major overhaul

Qualifications for English language teaching are being replaced by awards that fulfil the demands of the new millennium.
Jonas Hughes reports

ANYONE with experience of English Language Teaching (ELT) will know that it is a discriminatory business. Not only must English teachers take different qualifications from teachers of other languages, but different awards exist for native and non-native English teachers; and even for teachers of English as a Foreign Language (EFL) and teachers of English as a Second Language (ESL).

To many teachers, the rationale behind this system has always seemed rather suspect, but it is only in recent years that research has been undertaken to examine whether there is any justification for these distinctions. A survey of trainers and ELT providers all over the world began in 1992, and soon proved the sceptics right. As far as trainers and employers were concerned, language skills and ability to teach were the overriding priority. Whether teachers were native or non-natives or whether they had taught EFL or ESL, was irrelevant. It was immediately obvious that the people in the field — those who de-

pend on satisfied customers for a living — had moved beyond the constraints of a system which had remained more or less untouched since its beginnings in the 1960s.

Cambridge, the world's foremost provider of practical teaching qualifications, responded quickly. It embarked on a massive overhaul of its teaching awards, with the creation of CELTS (Cambridge Integrated Language Teaching Schemes) — which will eventually consist of an entirely new suite of schemes for teachers of English (and other languages).

The first new scheme — the CELTA (Certificate in ELT for Adults) — was launched last October. It replaces the standard pre-service qualification for native speakers — the CITEFLA (Certificate in the Teaching of English as a Foreign Language to Adults) — and it will eventually supersede the COTE (Certificate for Overseas Teachers of English) as well. A new Certificate to teach English to young learners will also be tested this year.

At the in-service level, Cambridge's two diploma-level qualifications — the DTEFLA and the DOTE — will gradually be replaced by one diploma, the DELTA. These changes will once and for all abolish the distinction that exists between native and non-native English teachers.

To address the distinction between teachers of English and teachers of other languages, Cam-

bridge is introducing a number of new schemes for candidates who want to teach foreign languages. Pilot Certificate schemes for teaching French, German, Italian and Spanish to adults will take place this year.

Interestingly, a new scheme to teach Maori to young learners, is also being piloted. This reflects the rapidly growing demand for the language among non-indigenous New Zealanders.

Unlike the existing Cambridge schemes, the first of which began in the 1960s, the new and revised qualifications will operate with syllabuses and assessment frameworks which are derived from a common generic specification. This means that there will be clear connections between all qualifications. The days of wondering whether your qualification is at a lower or higher level than that of your colleagues will finally be over.

The new schemes will also be totally comprehensive, covering all levels from pre-service (Certificate) to in-service (Diploma) to Master's level. The latter level will be served by a new Advanced Diploma in Language Teaching Management, which is being piloted this year.

The introduction of these new qualifications represents probably the biggest overhaul the ELT industry has ever experienced. What won't change, however, is the practical emphasis of these qualifications. With the exception of the Advanced

Diploma, all these awards focus on developing and assessing classroom teaching skills.

For teachers themselves, the immediate practical advantages of these new qualifications may be difficult to determine at first. Abolishing discrimination will certainly be an advantage, and the new awards will make it easier for teachers to determine where they fit into the world of language teaching and how they progress up the career ladder. But will they actually improve a teacher's chance of finding a job?

THE answer is yes, for two reasons. The first is because Cambridge recently set up a job-placement scheme for teachers doing a Certificate course at the well-known language training institution, International House. This scheme offers employment advice to candidates on the CELTA course, and it gives successful candidates the chance to apply for jobs all over the world. Remember, though, that candidates will only benefit from this scheme if they take their course at International House.

The second reason for doing a Cambridge course is because, like any other qualification, a teaching award is only worth having if it is recognised and trusted by employers worldwide. Only two ELT organisations can claim this status for their qualifications: Cambridge and Trinity College, London.

Trinity College, which began as

an examining board in the late 19th-century, operates in much the same way as Cambridge. It administers a range of qualifications which are offered by institutions all over the world. Currently, it offers three certificates — TESOL (Teaching of English to Speakers of Other Languages); TEYL (Teaching English to Young Learners); and TEL (Teaching of European Languages) — and one diploma, the Licentiate in TESOL.

Ironically, Trinity never created the distinctions that Cambridge is in the process of abolishing. Its qualifications have always been open to both native and non-native English teachers, and its framework of awards encompasses the teaching of English and other European languages to both adults and younger learners.

Aside from that, there is not much difference between Trinity's awards and the Cambridge qualifications, although institutions which offer Trinity awards generally have more freedom as far as entry requirements, course lengths and content are concerned. Cambridge naturally has the advantage of being associated with one of the oldest and most respected universities in the world but, as far as ELT employers are concerned, a Trinity qualification is a perfectly acceptable alternative.

BBC English Magazine publishes a Guide to British TEFL Qualifications. For a free copy, write to: BBC English TEFL Guide, c/o BBC English Magazine, Bush House, London WC2B 4PH, UK

Ramesh Krishnamurthy traces the evolution of learners' dictionaries and outlines their digital future

Revolution to sweep reference section

LEARNERS' dictionaries are comparative newcomers. The first bilingual dictionaries were published in the 16th century, with monolingual dictionaries appearing in the early 17th. But the first dictionary specifically designed for foreign learners of English — the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (OALD) — did not appear until 1948. OALD claimed that it combined "the traditions of the Oxford Dictionaries" with the "language-teaching skills" of its editor, A S Hornby, while providing "the student and teacher of the English Language with the most practically useful and comprehensive record of the language as it is spoken and written today". However grand Oxford's claims were, its dictionary certainly proved to be enormously popular, with new editions appearing in 1963, 1974, 1989, and 1995.

For nearly three decades OALD had no competitors. But in the 1970s and '80s, several other publishers started entering the market. It's anyone's guess as to whether this was due to the general boom in EFL or a result of changes in theory and methodology, but between 1974 and 1980 five learners' dictionaries appeared where there had only been one before.

Some of the new dictionaries — Collins (1974), Nelson (1977), and Chambers (1980) — were fairly similar, and not particularly remarkable. But when Longman released its first learners' dictionary — the Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (LDOCE, 1978) — it avoided just jumping on the EFL bandwagon, and used the opportunity to introduce several innovations. It pioneered the idea of a "controlled defining vocabulary": it used authentic data from London University's Survey of English Usage; it "disambiguated" synonyms (for example: "travel, journey, voyage"); and it greatly reduced the number of "embedded" items, making them into headwords and thus easier for learners to find.

Longman also made acceptable the use of academic terminology, thereby enabling everyone to speak the same language and ridding learners' dictionaries of their often laborious substitutions.

Longman's innovations were accompanied — in the 1970s and '80s — by the publication of several shorter or simplified editions of learners' dictionaries. This period also witnessed the birth of new dictionaries that focused on specific aspects of the language, such as phrasal verbs and idioms. By the 1980s, lexicography was ready for the biggest revolution in its history — something which would be made possible by the rapid advances in technology. In 1987, the first dictionary to make use of computers in all stages of production was published. The Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary (CCELD) was the very refined child of a 20-million word "bank" of authentic spoken and written English, called a "computer corpus". Cobuild was now setting the agenda. Like Longman, it used the new dictionary to introduce some



ILLUSTRATION: DAVID SHEPHERD

major innovations: main forms of headwords were given in full; grammar and semantic relations were separated from the main text and printed in a separate column; and definitions (now termed "explanations") were expressed in full sentences showing typical linguistic patterns and contexts. But the biggest innovation was the corpus (ie, real life). Instead of inventing examples, lexicographers now took them directly from the corpus. It also dictated which meanings (or rather "uses") would appear, based on their frequency of use.

Thus, in the past 50 years or so we have witnessed the birth of a new type of dictionary. Rationalism has given way to empiricism (intuition-based dictionaries have been

replaced by corpus-based ones); the formal definition style has yielded to an informal, interactive style; and the lexicographers' made-up examples have been superseded by authentic citations. Some of these changes are still the subject of heated debate but, like dictionaries, the questions have moved on. We no longer ask "Why do we need a corpus?" but "How big a corpus do we need?" and "What should the corpus contain?"

The other question being asked is "Where do dictionaries go from here?" One of the most promising areas of development in the near future is likely to be the new media (diskettes are already becoming obsolete, CD-Rom seems to be in fashion). And beyond that, on-line

dictionaries with corpus data already available on CD-Rom (Collins has published a 5-million-strong Word Bank).

As access to corpus data becomes easier and cheaper to obtain, it is likely that students and teachers will have to radically alter their habits and ideas. Why be content with someone else's analysis when you can conduct your own? A printed dictionary may be easier to carry to class today, but tomorrow a laptop or notebook computer may be better suited to the learners' needs. The new revolution has just begun.

Ramesh Krishnamurthy is Corpus Manager for Cobuild — Collins Birmingham University International Language Database

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Out with the old, in with the new

Language change is one of the biggest challenges facing students, says Jean Althison

WORD MEANINGS stagger and slide like drunken revellers on icy slopes. Few words mean the same as they did a century ago, and some have slithered away like racing skiers. "I was devastated when Salisbury's discontinued Nature's Compliments hand-and-body cream in Vanilla fragrance" ran a recent letter to a newspaper.

A learner who consulted, say, The Longman Dictionary Of The English Language (1991 edition) would find that *devastated* was "to reduce to ruin; lay waste; to have a shattering effect on; overwhelm". To take the dictionary definition, this would appear a rather extreme reaction to a discontinued beauty product.

"Bleaching" or weakening of meaning presents an ongoing dilemma. How can anyone keep up with words such as *devastate*, *disaster*, *tragedy* as their significance slips away?

Yet all is not lost. The information available to serious teachers and learners is better now than it ever has been. Living in the computer age is a great bonus: CD-Roms of newspapers are a valuable source of knowledge, and so is the British

National Corpus, a database containing both written and spoken language. With these resources, bleached words are not so much a problem, more a key which can help to unlock the secrets of the lexicon. They change faster than other words, so processes of alteration which might otherwise take centuries are completed within decades, and can lead to a better understanding of language change.

These faded words are like old overstuffed sofas that sag in all directions. Their meaning is extra wide, as old and new senses co-exist, often for quite a long period of time: a customer may be *devastated* over a discontinued hand-cream product; the death of a young man may leave his family and friends *devastated*. Yet *prostrated by grief* is still pale when contrasted with the word's older, but still current meaning of "laid waste" (of land) — "An area nearly twice the size of Belgium was devastated".

Or take the word *tragedy*: "The great tragedy of modern music is that... the results are less and less significant from a human point of view," writes a musicologist. But modern music is hardly a catastrophe, at least when compared with a major air crash: "259 passengers and crew... were killed by a bomb. This was Britain's worst air tragedy". And the actress who turns in a sharp cameo as the girl's vulgar, port-tipping mother, a disas-



'Disaster' for England... words such as 'triumph' and 'tragedy' often find their way into sports writing

ter area in fake leopard skin and stacked heels" is a long way from "the Hillsborough football disaster which killed 96 people". Such variation illustrates the way language changes: variants creep in, they fluctuate and co-exist, then the newer usages may oust the old.

Like relatives who cannot wait to get away from one another, words which derive from the same base move apart. Different word classes (parts of speech) behave independently, and show different levels of bleaching. The adjective *devastated* often has a faded meaning: "Gran Sheila Hartley landed in court yesterday for lighting up on a bus while on her way to work... She said: They made me feel like a

criminal. I was devastated." Yet Gran Sheila's unhappy state is unlikely to be one of true *devastation*. This noun is still more usually found in an older, more "coloured" and catastrophic sense, as in "A huge bomb exploded, causing widespread devastation".

Word meanings do not move together, like a tidal wave. Instead, bleaching starts in particular contexts. Cookery is a common *disaster* area, and minor episodes rate this label: "The gravy's a disaster. It's got too much fat in it." Or, "Stephanie likes cooking. I don't, not since my disaster with the soup".

Flamboyant, swashbuckling writing is typical of certain topics. Sports writers often behave like

boisterous guests trying to liven up a dull party, and *disasters* and *tragedies* abound. "He calmly controlled the ball before lashing an angled drive past Neville Southall... It was a tragedy for Everton." Or, "The last wicket fell... So it was another whitewash, another disaster for England".

But meaning alone is not the whole story. Neighbouring words hang together, like pals who cling to one another for support. The appropriate use of surrounding words is a crucial native speaker skill, one which foreign language learners need to acquire. Sufferers are *absolutely devastated*, not *very devastated*.

In conclusion, bleaching is normal change, but speeded up and foreshortened. It sheds light on general processes of change, which often take much longer. As the 18th-century lexicographer Samuel Johnson pointed out, "It is impossible to enchain syllables or to lash the wind".

Our task, then, is not to bind up these winds, but to the produce a weather forecast — to predict in what direction the winds will blow, or how the words will bend. And bleached words, like weathercocks, point us in the right direction.

Jean Althison is the Rupert Murdoch Professor of Language and Communication at the University of Oxford. She gave the 1996 BBC Reith Lectures, now published under the title: The Language Web: The Power and Problem of Words (Cambridge University Press, 1997). Also recently published is her book: The Seeds of Speech, Language Origin and Evolution (Cambridge University Press, 1996).

Proving your proficiency

Passing an examination does more than just boost linguistic self-esteem; it is vital if you want to enter a degree course or get a job, says Max de Lotbinière

THE MOST important question for any EFL learner is "how good is my English?". Knowing the answer not only helps your confidence, it's useful if you want to make more progress because once you know you've reached one level, you can then start tackling the next. Exams play another very important role in the learning process — they provide proof that a learner is, or is not, proficient in the language. The difference between these two points may be largely semantic, but it helps learners to understand that passing an exam does far more than just boost your linguistic self-esteem: it is vital if you want to enrol in higher education in an English-speaking country, or if you want a job which requires English language skills.

There is a huge choice of proficiency exams available today. The most popular is the American Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL), which is taken by more than three-quarters of a million learners every year. This exam is entirely multiple-choice and consists of three sections: listening comprehension, structure and written expression, and reading comprehension. A pass in the TOEFL is a pre-requisite for en-

trance to more than 2,400 colleges and universities in the United States and Canada, and it is accepted as a university-entrance qualification throughout the rest of the English-speaking world.

However, if you intend to enter higher education in the UK or in Australia or New Zealand, you may be better off taking a British English exam. In Britain, there are more than 15 main exam providers or "boards". The best known is the University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate. This board produces the most popular British English exam — First Certificate (FCE).

FCE provides learners with the opportunity to combine a range of language skills in one exam — one reason it is so popular. In Europe alone, around 250,000 candidates sit FCE every year. Its popularity is largely the result of its standing among employers in non-Anglophone countries, who regard it as proof of proficiency in English.

People intending to sit FCE should be aware that, as with its teacher qualifications, Cambridge has just updated the exam. The new test contains a new structure and syllabus. The reason for the change was to bring the test into line with new developments in

learning methods and student needs. The level of the exam — for learners who are competent in English at an intermediate level — has not changed.

Finally, there is IELTS (International English Language Testing System). This exam is normally required for entrance to British universities, and although only about 25,000 candidates sit it each year, it is starting to challenge the hegemony of the TOEFL in Australia.

The three exams mentioned above are known as academic

qualifications. This means they are intended for university entrance purposes, although First Certificate and, to an extent, TOEFL are now widely accepted as proof of proficiency by employers who require workers with English language skills.

However, for learners who require English language skills for work purposes, a Business English exam is a better bet. The most popular test is the American TOEIC (Test of English for International Communication), which is taken by more than 500,000 pre- and in-service business people every year.

In Britain, learners are once again confronted with a large

stable of exams. As with academic qualifications — only the most popular were mentioned above — Britain's "boards" have a plethora of exams, which can easily confuse any learner.

Boards, such as the London Chamber of Commerce and Industry (LCCI), offer numerous exams testing specific business skills such as reading reports, writing letters or making business telephone calls. For more specialised learners, there are exams such as Pitman's Communication in Technical English or the LCCI's range of exams for people working in the tourist industry. Tailor-made exams also exist for teenagers and young learners.

Some exams, such as those offered by Trinity College London, concentrate entirely on spoken language while others test reading and writing. It is also possible to take separate exams that test just one or two skills, such as the Certificates in Communicative Skills in English, offered by Cambridge. The style or approach to language learning can also vary — some exams are traditional, with more emphasis on writing or grammar, while others are more communicative and include more speaking and listening tasks.

BBC English Magazine produces a Guide to British Council-accredited institutions in Britain. The guide contains advice on exams, studying and places to visit. For a free copy, write to: Study English in Britain, c/o BBC English Magazine, Bush House, London WC2B 4PH, UK.



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Making a Net profit

Continued from page 1
regular ones. As we learn the fibre-
optic ropes, we'll be making materi-
als interactive and non-linear. But,
for those without the technology,
there will always be printed notes to
accompany each series.

Internet — multimedia — notes
may take a completely different ap-
proach, slicing the material (text
and sound) in different ways to pre-
sent different learning experiences
for individual learners. Rethinking
linearity can come as a shock to
radio producers, who attempt to en-
sure their programmes have a be-
ginning, a middle and an end, in that

order. However, approaching this
task from a learning point of view,
with memories of spiral syllabuses,
it makes sense.

The trickle-down effect — en-
abling as many producers as possi-
ble to discover the possibilities of
the Net — has been an important
part of the project. During the devel-
opment phase, we talked with the
National Council for Educational
Technology, who stressed that, as
broadcasters, we should be doing
something that was in keeping with
the immediacy of radio. Every pro-
ducer gets a shot at creating the
weekly page, where we analyse the

words of someone in the news in a
radio programme and then provide
a text equivalent: the nearest we get
to instant print backup.

A template in Notebook exists:
they then add the text and glosses
with the aid of a limited number of
HTML (Hyper Text Mark-up Lan-
guage) tags. This acts as a simple
introduction to HTML for those
who won't be composing in it but
who do need to know what they can
and can't expect it to do with their
texts. The Internet also has applica-
tions in our annual summer school,
which BBC English has run for the
past 44 years. This gives producers
the chance to get back into the lan-
guage classroom and meet real live
learners.

This year we tried a "Summer
School on the Net" as an experi-
ment in developing teaching meth-
ods. Three of the elements
mirrored the actual schools: talks,
visits and entertainment. The fourth
enabled listeners to e-mail ques-
tions in, with answers posted on the
site.

The question does arise of
whether resources that could be tar-
geted at really poor countries —
supplying refugees in camps with
notes — are being diverted to what
is still primarily an activity re-
stricted to information-rich regions.
There isn't a simple answer yet:
books sound attractive and appro-
priate.

Yet the complexities of design

and difficulties of supply mean that
it is at least possible to argue that
supplying text over the Net to
school resource centres one can
reach a relevant target audience.

Moreover, by doing it this way we
may be helping learners to gain a
relevant skill for the next century —
already dubbed "the knowledge
era". If you have any views on this,
we'd like to hear from you. We've
extended use of the Net from infor-
mation to communication by start-
ing an electronic discussion group.

Hamish Norbrook is Editorial Manager
of BBC English. His e-mail address
is: hamish.norbrook@bbc.co.uk
Karen Chilton is BBC World Service
Science Correspondent

**To split,
or not
to split?**

Janet Olearski on a
grammatical controversy
that can be traced
back to the Romans

I MUST admit that I knew about
split ends before I ever learned
about split infinitives. In my adol-
escent phase of blissful linguistic
ignorance, I would have been
placed by Henry Watson Fowler, au-
thor of the 1926 Dictionary of Mod-
ern English Usage, in the
English-speaking world's Category
Number One, namely "those who
neither know nor care what a split
infinitive is".

Grammar school English teach-
ers of the 1950s and '60s assumed
that all their pupils had an innate
knowledge of split infinitives. I did
not seem blessed with this ability
so, fearing exposure as an imposter,
I kept my mouth shut and listened
for clues. By now, I had entered
Fowler's second category, namely
"those who do not know, but care
very much".

And care we did. For when
mistakes were made, the English
mistress would hiss: "Where's your
Latin, girls?" We all knew, of
course, that it lay dead and decay-
ing in our Path to Latin textbook.
And therein lies the key to the split
infinitive. J C Nesfield's Manual of
English Grammar and Composition,
published in 1898, prescribed that
English grammar should
follow the principles of Latin — a
clear case of "When in Britain, do
as the Romans once did". Not even
the 1975 Bullock report on the
teaching of English could convince
us that rules "invented arbitrarily
by grammarians in the 18th and
19th centuries" were no longer of
any relevance.

Fowler's categories were very
much like the ages of man. Many of
us belong to the third stage: "those
who know and condemn", the tire-
less linguistic trainspotters who
have been complaining about split
infinitives since the end of the 19th
century. Before that, the likes of
Shakespeare and Byron were able to
split their infinitives with impunity.

Nowadays, whether we like it or
not, split infinitives are a marker of
class. Being guilty of splitting infinitives
is rather like riding out on a
horse that still has straw in its tail —
your language lacks the essential



George Bernard Shaw had no time for 'absurd' rules about
grammar and spelling. In a letter in 1892, he advised an editor
to 'set adrift' a columnist who had criticised other newspapers
for splitting infinitives. "Try an intelligent Newfoundland dog
in his place," Shaw advised

grooming and polishing necessary
for an appearance in polite society.
It's all right to knowingly split, but
to do so innocently (or ignorantly)
is like walking around with your
jacket on back to front and every-
one but you noticing it. Just to be on
the safe side, those who split and
know that they're doing it generally
feel obliged to draw attention to the
fact. After all, they wouldn't want to
be mistaken for uneducated slobs.

The perpetrator of a split infinitive
becomes the subject of much
literary noddling, winking and
elbow-peddling. "She splits her in-
finitives, you know."

"Well, what can you expect from
someone who (and this is where
bigotry sets in) is American, went to
a polytechnic that turned into a uni-
versity, didn't go to prep school,
reads tabloid newspapers, never
studied Latin, and is the product of a
secondary modern."

This brings us to Fowler's fourth
category: "those who know and ap-
prove". Raymond Chandler raged at
his editor for correcting what
shouldn't have been corrected:
"When I split an infinitive, god-
dammit, it will stay split." Yes, it's
true. Chandler was an American by
birth, but whatever he learnt about
grammar in his early years was
taught to him at Dulwich College, in
London.

Split infinitives allow us greater
flexibility of expression. If you
speak another language, you'll be
aware of instances when only a for-
eign word can convey the idea you
wish to communicate. Being able to
manipulate language — and that in-
cludes splitting your infinitives — is
better than having language manipu-
late you.

I doubt e e cummings got any flak
from his old school teacher for non-
use of capital letters. Omitting punc-

Theory and practice

SEE if you can safely test your
own knowledge of split
infinitives. Decide which of the
following sentences contain a
'split', and then check your
answer with the correct gram-
matical guidelines provided in
italics.

1 I let him borrow my father's
car.
In English, we commonly use the
infinitive without 'to'. Students of
English can often make the
mistake of including 'to' in
sentences of this type. (I let him
to borrow my car.)

2 He doesn't seem to have
really grasped the idea.
'To have' is the infinitive, and here
it is unsplit. The adverb 'really'
comes between the infinitive and
the main verb 'grasped'.

3 The listeners seemed entirely
to have accepted the
changes.
No split infinitive here, but it might
have been less awkward to write:
'The listeners seemed to have

entirely accepted the changes.'
The infinitive would have
remained intact.

4 We intend to seriously
consider this proposal.
One of the simplest and most
straightforward examples of a
split infinitive. The word order
here shows that they're serious
about seriously considering the
proposal.

5 You should definitely give
up chocolate chip cookies
this year.
No, there's nothing split here that
shouldn't be, but it's probably
true about the cookies.

6 I promise to, immediately
on receipt of this document
and having studied its contents
with care and attention, sign and
return it.
Yes, the infinitive here has been
butchered mercilessly. We have
short linguistic memories. Too
much of this and we forget
where the sentence is actually
leading us.

tuition didn't obscure his message
— in a curious way that is character-
istic of any form of creative writing,
it enriched it. In her book Writing
Down The Bones (Shambhala,
1986), American author Natalie
Goldberg urges writers to disman-
tle language "to get closer to the
truth of what we say". If we impose
limitations on the language we use,
we put barriers up around our imagi-
nation. "By cracking open that syn-
tax we release energy and are able
to see the world afresh and from a
new angle," says Goldberg.

At this point you will have
reached the ranks of "those who
know and distinguish". Fowler's
fifth and final category, and you'll
have little difficulty distinguishing
differences in these examples:
☐ My intention was to really enjoy
myself.
☐ My intention was really to enjoy
myself.
☐ My intention was to enjoy myself
really.

As a language connoisseur, with
descriptive rather than prescriptive
leanings, you'll appreciate that if
the intention of Star Trek's Captain Kirk
had been merely "to go boldly", this
would have focused us merely on
the act of going instead of on the
manner of going — boldly — which
was, of course, far more important.

If all this still worries you, re-
member that language change is
acceptable only when enough peo-
ple have disputed the rules, and
then usually only when those who

have changed the rules are people
whose opinions and judgment we
value. For example, if the Queen
were to split a few of her infinitives,
after the ritual raising of a few eye-
brows we would all be saying:
"Well, I suppose it must be all right
then."

In their 1973 University Gram-
mar Of English (Longman),
Randolph Quirk and Sidney
Greenbaum refer to the "widely
held opinion that it is bad to 'split
the infinitive'", but they point out
that "in some cases the 'split
infinitive' is the only tolerable or-
dering, since avoiding it "results in
clumsiness or ambiguity".

Fowler himself had no qualms
about splitting the occasional in-
finitive ("Those who scorn grammar
are apt to wrongly give . . .") and
Partridge in his Usage And
Abusage (Hamish Hamilton, 1994)
reassures us: "Avoid the split in-
finitive wherever possible; but if it is
the clearest and the most natural
construction, use it boldly. The
angels are on our side."

So, the experts advise us not to
split our infinitives if we can avoid it,
but if we do split them . . . then
that's all right, too. In such matters
the British have always been non-
committal. I've already made my
decision, and that will be to happily
and without inhibition split when-
ever I so wish.

Janet Olearski is Reviews Editor of
BBC English Magazine

Learning English
continues
on page 26

Genocide waits for its day in court

EDITORIAL

GIVEN that the international tribunal set up by the United Nations in Arusha, Tanzania, to judge those responsible for the 1994 genocide in Rwanda has got off to a shaky start, one may legitimately ask: to what degree are international courts capable of dealing with the most flagrant crimes against humanity?

The Arusha tribunal, like the Hague tribunal set up to judge crimes committed in the former Yugoslavia, ought to perform an exemplary function. Its job should be to help dissipate the notion that such crimes can be committed with impunity and to promote, particularly in the eyes of those countries with the weakest judicial and democratic structures, the idea that justice can be done on a supranational, independent and rigorous basis.

Instead, what we now have is the spectacle of a plodding institution that has great difficulty in carrying out its investigations and apprehending the main alleged culprits. And, when it does manage to put one of them in the dock, it is hampered by procedural problems and obstructive tactics by those who wish to ensure that defendants' rights are respected.

Meanwhile in Rwanda itself, some of the 90,000 people who have been rotting for two years in the Tutsi regime's jails are now beginning to be sentenced. Often they are summarily condemned to death without even having the benefit of a lawyer to defend them.

Quite apart from the fact that the internal workings of the Arusha tribunal have come in for criticism, it suffers from the same basic problems as its



Hutu prisoners in the Rwandan capital Kigali are uncertain when the war crimes tribunal will bring them to trial. PHOTO: CORINNE DURFA

counterpart in the Hague, but to a more acute degree: it has no power to impose its rulings on the various countries involved, and has to rely on goodwill to lay its hands on evidence and on individuals it wishes to judge. Its procedure is based exclusively on the evidence of witnesses, who can easily be manipulated or threatened.

The Hague tribunal will probably never be able to put people like Miladic, Karadzic, Arkan or Seselj in the dock, because the international community regards such an operation as too risky. But at least it has enjoyed, within those limitations, a degree of support that has made it a model for a future standing international court of law.

But all those in the Rwandan civil service and army who were responsible for the genocide went into exile in 1994 without the slightest hindrance from the international community, which felt it was not within its remit to

arrest them. The few who were arrested, like those now being held in Cameroon, are the subject of behind-the-scenes political horse-trading.

What is more, the Arusha tribunal's investigations depend on the co-operation of the Tutsi regime in Kigali, which has plenty of information about the genocide but is playing ball only grudgingly with an international body whose existence it basically rejects.

While the Hague tribunal found it hard to elicit even token collaboration from well-informed military bodies, the Arusha tribunal can expect no help whatsoever from that quarter — and especially not from the French army, which refused to play the role of witness in the former Yugoslavia for fear of being criticised for its behaviour, and fully intends to wriggle out of having to play that role anywhere else in the world.

(January 12-13)

Uganda rebel groups bring fears of famine

Jean Hélène in Gulu

ALTHOUGH the region of Gulu in northern Uganda has not experienced a drought for several years, its inhabitants now face the threat of famine. The reason is simple: the place is crawling with rebels.

The non-governmental organisation Action Against Hunger will shortly assess the scale of the problem. Its representative in Uganda, Isabelle Robin, says that this year's harvest will barely be able to meet the needs of the population because farmers have been reluctant to spend time tilling the fields for fear of landmines or a rebel attack. The harvesting period is likely to be curtailed for similar reasons. Robin's organisation is, therefore, taking steps to cope with a possible "nutritional emergency".

At St Mary's Hospital in Lachor, 5km from Gulu, Dr Piero Corti has recorded an increasing incidence of malnutrition among his patients. The situation is probably worse in the bush, but information is hard to come by because it has become a no-go area.

On the road from Gulu to Lachor a badly filled-in crater marks the spot where a minibus was blown up by a rebel mine six months ago. All 16 passengers were killed. Yet 30,000 Ugandan troops — more than half the total strength of the army — are stationed in the north of the country.

During the past 10 months the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), headed by Joseph Kony, has moved hundreds of fighters into Uganda from neighbouring Sudan, where it has training camps, and stepped up its activity, causing a total breakdown of law and order.

Initially, this guerrilla movement exploited the frustration of the northern Acholi and Lango tribes, who dominated Uganda until Yoweri Museveni came to power in 1986. They are now much poorer than people in the rest of the country as a result of the war, which has brought all development to a halt. Abuses perpetrated against the civilian population by the regular army also helped the rebels' cause for a time.

The LRA rebels are now increasingly less popular in the north. But they can still rely on solid support from the regime in neighbouring Sudan, as long as they obey orders from it to attack Sudanese refugee camps in Uganda. The 350,000 refugees in the camps form a huge pool of fighters for the rebels in southern Sudan.

For the same reason, Sudan has also been arming the West Nile Bank Front (WNBF), a group consisting of troops loyal to the former ruler, Idi Amin, who was overthrown when the Tanzanian army invaded Uganda in 1979. The WNBF is active in the Arua region of north-western Uganda, but operates out of Zairean territory. In the area around Arua and Gulu, vehicles move around only in armed convoys.

With varying degrees of success, the Ugandan army has occasionally entered Sudanese or Zairean territory with the aim of destroying the

bases of the LRA, WNBF and, more recently, the Alliance of Democratic Forces (ADF).

These three rebel movements have been co-ordinating their action to an increasing extent. Some sources claim that they have been given a unified military command by the Sudanese government.

Since November, ADF guerrillas have been active once again in the region of Kasese in western Uganda. They appear to have been preparing a new offensive when they were driven out of their Zairean base by the war in eastern Zaire.

They set up a new base in Uganda on the slopes of the Ruwenzori mountains. Displaced persons fleeing the guerrillas have been flooding into villages in the area, where they are often taken in by religious missions.

It will be difficult for the Ugandan army to dislodge the ADF guerrillas from the Ruwenzori mountains. But cut off as they are from their base in Zaire, and isolated from Sudan by the extension of the Zairean front rebellion up to the Sudanese border, they could soon run out of steam.

Their rebellion has, however, forced the Ugandan chiefs of state to withdraw troops from the northern front.

These tribal guerrilla uprisings remain peripheral. But although they are unlikely to topple the government of Uganda, they are a painful thorn in its side. The regular army has proved incapable of putting them down. More important, it has failed to protect the population from LRA atrocities.

Ten years after marching triumphantly into Kampala, Museveni's rebels have turned into a regular army. Lacking motivation and often under the command of corrupt officers, they have lost much of their efficiency. Soldiers pay is sometimes misappropriated by officers, who have no interest in the war being brought to an end.

President Museveni, on the other hand, is determined to crush the rebellion. To this end, he set up headquarters in Gulu last November. During his 10 years in power, Museveni has succeeded in getting several rebel leaders to rally to his regime.

However, he obstinately refuses to open any lines of communication with the LRA, even though the opposition and religious authorities have pressed him to hold talks. But then it is hard to see what Museveni could talk about with Kony, the LRA's mystical rebel leader, who has no political platform.

"In any case it's too late to negotiate," says one observer. "Kony will go on destabilising the north just as long as he enjoys the support of the Quartet junta. And the junta will only abandon him if, in exchange, Museveni expels the south Sudanese rebels from Uganda. We'll have to wait and see what emerges from the Ugandan-Sudanese talks that have been brokered by Iran."

Meanwhile, as always happens at this time of year, the armed groups in the region are preparing to launch their dry season offensive.

(January 17)

A hothead living in turbulent times

Claire Paulhan

Georges Darien
by David Bosc
Editions Sullivan 225pp 85 francs

IT HAS never been established exactly how Georges Darien — alias Georges-Hippolyte Adrien (1862-1921) — made a living. It could hardly have been from books such as *Biribi*, *Discipline Militaire* (1890), *Bas Les Coeurs!* (1899), *Les Pharisiens* (1890), *Le Voleur* (1897), *La Belle France* (1901) or *L'Épaulette* (1905), all of which sold very few copies.

Nor did he grow rich on the articles he contributed to anarchist periodicals such as *Le Roquet*, *L'En-Dehors* and *L'Ennemi du Peuple*, or on the loss-making magazines he founded — *L'Escarmouche* (1893-94), *Terre Libre* (1909) and *La Revue de l'Impôt Unique* (1911-13).

He could not have earned much, either, from his lectures on the theories of Henry George, the American economist who founded the single-tax movement, or indeed from his plays — they all flopped, except for his adaptation of *Biribi*, *Discipline Militaire*, which enjoyed a brief success de scandale in 1906.

Despite such disappointments, Darien was a figure to be reckoned with on the turbulent political and literary scene around the turn of the century, to judge from his furious and totally uncompromising calls for the destruction of society, from the testimony of his contemporaries, and from the elements of autobiography to be found in some of his books, including *Bas Les Coeurs!* (his childhood during the Paris Commune) and *Le Voleur*.

Early on, Darien cut off all ties with his *petit-bourgeois* Protestant background. He was a hot-tempered man, who appears, in *Les Pharisiens*, as a "kind of intolerant and unforgiving barbarian... As a result of mulling over his painful memories, he was overwhelmed by a great hatred of torturers and a great distaste for the tortured."

Fellow intellectuals such as

Octave Mirbeau, Laurent Tailhade, Joris-Karl Huysmans, Félix Fénéon, Elisée Reclus, Hugues Rebelle, Léon Bloy, Jules Renard and Lucien Descaves gave vent to their spirit of rebellion through acts that were seen as an "indirect incitement to crime".

Darien, their fellow traveller until the "infamous" anti-anarchist legislation of 1894, mainly distinguished himself by committing a series of spectacular stunts that may have been caused by drink or by treponematoses: he loudly intoned the Internationale during a performance of Tosca, strolled beneath the walls of the convent of St-Vincent-de-Paul with a naked woman perched on his shoulders, fought a duel with his former protector and friend, Zo d'Axa, and organised a memorable brawl at the premiere of his play, *Les Chapons*, at the Théâtre-Libre.

"I hate all flags, including the red flag," Darien wrote. "I am a bourgeois and do not put on a false proletarian's nose. The only thing I value is irrefutable reasoning." It was the irrefutability of his fiercely anti-militaristic novel, *Biribi*, *Discipline Militaire* — combined with Descaves' denunciation of NCOs in *Sous-Offs* (1899) — that stirred up public opinion and first thrust Darien into the limelight.

His description of the hell he had experienced in his early 20s in a disciplinary camp after being sentenced for insubordination forced parliament to legislate for its abolition.

Described as "a fighting beast" of violent temperament, and "a formidable polemicist who resorted to furious invective and frenzied punning", Darien believed that France "hated any man who thought for himself, who wanted to act by himself, and who had not picked his ideas out of the statutory dustbin".

After taking refuge in London, then a haven for exiled anarchists, Darien wrote an extraordinary manifesto of a book, *Le Voleur* (which Louis Malle adapted for the screen in 1966). It purportedly con-



Darien... uncompromising in his calls for the destruction of society

sists of the memoirs of a thief, Georges Randal, which have been "stolen" from him by the author.

"How to finish? This is the book I would really like to have finished; this book, which I have not written, and which I am vainly trying to rewrite. I would have liked to moralise... to moralise with a vengeance... I would have liked to juxtapose repentance and infamy, to confront remorse with crime — and also to talk of prisons (whether to speak ill of them or not I do not know). I tried; I could not. I have no idea how he writes, this particular Thief; my sentences do not fit his."

Because he lacked what he so vitally needed — a public, militant and generous publishers, a little money — Darien, once described

by Séverine as a man of "justified pride, with a soul desperate at not being able to blossom", had to give up his grandiose plans for a series of anti-Balzacian novels called "the inhuman comedy".

"I don't want to be a loser," he said. "I refuse to allow myself to be buried, either after my death or during my lifetime. The impatient rebel died a largely forgotten man — and those that remembered him were possibly relieved."

Since then, few have bothered to take an interest in Darien. Such figures as Léon Blum, Abel Hermant, Séverine, Ernest Lajeunesse and Victor Méric argued in the twenties that his *oeuvre* did not have the following it deserved and that he had been "unfairly blackballed and despised".

The same claims were made when Darien was wheeled out of obscurity for a brief moment of posthumous glory in the fifties: André Breton wrote a preface to *Le Voleur*, Pascal Pia wrote about him in *Les Lettres Nouvelles*, the critic Auriant penned a biography in time for the hundredth anniversary of his birth, and Jean-François Revel wrote an introduction to a new edition of *La Belle France*.

Now we have a third and solitary attempt at resuscitation in the shape of an intellectual and flamboyantly written biography of Darien by the essayist David Bosc. Although aged only 23, Bosc shows great skill in marshalling his facts and keeping his virulence in check.

In the chapter entitled "The Posthumous Situation", he is not afraid to attack those he regards as responsible for having "deactivated" Darien's ideas. They include André Breton, who saw him merely as an example of the "accursed writer"; Auriant, who admired Darien so much he became his biographer; Jean-Jacques Pauvert and Jean-François Revel, who accused Darien of anti-Semitism — the same Darien who in 1891 published *Les Pharisiens*, the "first pamphlet" ever published against anti-Semitism and its ideologue, Edouard Drumont; and Pascal Ory, who poured scorn on Darien's political ideas.

Also lambasted are a handful of historians who, scrabbling around for new theories, either appropriated or rejected Darien after having overhastily pigeonholed him as a right-wing anarchist.

The intellectual terrorism of the generous-spirited Darien (who shifted from rebellion to revolution, from destruction to propheticism) created a yawning vacuum around him — the beautiful vacuum of a Utopia described and experienced, at whatever cost to him, up to his dying day.

"The work of Georges Darien expresses the noble struggle of a man who wanted above all to prevent leviathan from destroying his right to be different, a man who took to the maquis as a lonely rebel, and whose inability to be free 'outside the world' caused him to espouse the darkest form of destructive nihilism." (December 13)

chestra made thanks to his perfectionism.

It was only when hostilities in the Pacific commenced and the Japanese became hostile to the Jewish-American financial community, which was perceived to be supporting the US war effort, that Rosenstock's position was called into question. From 1941 on, he was gradually sidelined.

Rosenstock had started a tradition, which continued into the war years, of playing the Ninth with his Japanese orchestra in the last few days of December.

As was only to be expected in such a traditionalist country, once the war was over and Rosenstock had gone off to head the New York City Opera, the NHK Symphony Orchestra kept up the annual performance of Beethoven's Ninth in the run-up to the New Year.

The symphony orchestras that mushroomed in Japan in the post-war period followed suit, and it eventually became a traditional part of New Year celebrations to listen to or participate in a performance of the Ninth.

There were "neighbourhood" performances, the result of hard work by citizens' associations in city districts or country towns, who

would get together twice a week in summer to rehearse the final chorus under the baton of the local music teacher.

The proliferation of these amateur performances, which were often beamed up by the participation of professional conductors and singers, generated a very large pool of competent choristers, who were then available to contribute to large sponsored concerts held in sports stadia.

The craze reached its height on December 4, 1983, when 6,300 choristers joined forces with three symphony orchestras from the Osaka region to perform a mammoth "Ninth Symphony of 10,000". To the great irritation of its organisers, who may have slightly exaggerated the number of participants, that concert has still not been accepted by the Guinness Book of Records.

(January 2)

Directeur: Jean-Marie Colombani
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Basque party under fire for links with ETA

Marie-Claude Decamps
in Madrid

CAN a Spanish political party continue to claim it is playing according to the rules of democracy while at the same time openly supporting an armed separatist movement such as the Basque Euzkadi Liberation Movement (ETA)?

It is a question that more and more Spaniards — and now the Spanish judiciary — have been asking themselves following the latest stand adopted by the Basque party Herri Batasuna (HB).

This hardline separatist party was formed in 1978. Support for it in the Basque Country has been eroding over the past few years, and it can now marshal only about 12.5 per cent of the vote there. As the party became increasingly radical — partly as a result of being joined by activists from the Socialist Basque Co-ordination (KAS) — it ended up being perceived as ETA's political wing.

For a long time the party was

fairly successful at not being seen to give unqualified support to ETA. But in the past few months it appears to have thrown caution to the winds.

On January 11, for example, 2,000 HB activists marched through the streets of Ildio, in Alava province, to demonstrate against big companies operating in the Basque Country — an "oligarchy that lives off the sweat of the working class".

Ildio, the home of two industrial companies owned by the Deleux family, whose son Cosme was kidnapped by ETA two months ago, has been the scene of several popular demonstrations of sympathy for the family.

The march was no doubt a counter-demonstration orchestrated in favour of the kidnappers. There were several placards virulently attacking the company owners, who refuse to pay the "revolutionary tax" demanded by ETA.

The Basque regional government, judging that "threats and slogans in favour of terrorism" had

been uttered during the demonstration, has said it will take out proceedings against HB.

This is not the only cloud on the horizon for HB. Following ETA's latest outrage, which killed a lieutenant-colonel in Madrid on January 8, the judiciary has reactivated a case against HB which goes back to last February.

At the height of the general election campaign, the party released several videos that were deemed to be propaganda for ETA. The cassettes were seized and HB's spokesman, Jon Iligoras, spent several months in prison.

The case has now come before the Supreme Court, the country's highest judicial body. The court has summoned all 25 members of HB's collegial leadership to appear before it in February on charges of "collaboration with an armed group". The court has let it be known that if the main leaders of HB decide not to answer the summons the whole leadership may be arrested.

(January 16)

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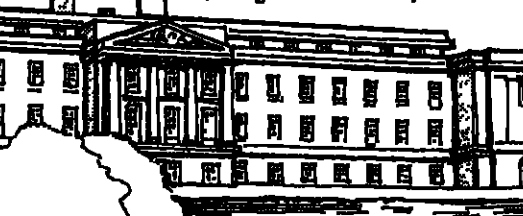
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Candidates will be asked to submit a CV to include a statement of no more than 600 words on their research plans.

The University of Nottingham

An African love affair

Elspeth Huxley

ELSPETH HUXLEY, who has died aged 89, was one of the most distinguished and versatile writers of her generation. Her powers of observation and wit will be manifest to readers of *The Flame Trees Of Thika*. Her works included biographies, studies of African countries based on personal experience, novels and crime books, and journalism. She was a delightful person who enjoyed life to the full, especially in relation to country people and their activities at home and abroad.

Elspeth was born in London into the privileged circle of the Grosvenors, her grandfather being the youngest brother of the first Duke of Westminster. None of the family wealth came to her parents, who constantly struggled to make ends meet farming in Kenya. Her father, Jos Grant, was affectionate but always immersed in risky enterprises. Her mother, Nellie, whose correspondence with Elspeth was published in 1980, was a highly intelligent, amusing woman who could have had a successful academic career, had it been thought appropriate then. She was a major influence on her daughter, as shown by the number of books Elspeth dedicated to her.

Elspeth's childhood was spent mostly with the Africans who worked on the Grants' two farms at Thika and, later, Njoro. This was the origin of her great love of African life, including animals of which, as a child, she kept a variety - domesticated and wild - including a cheetah raised from a kitten. She became an excellent horsewoman and shot, although her enthusiasm for shooting wild animals disappeared as their numbers dwindled. Her education at

home was patchy, due to her mother having to work most of the time on the farm and garden. But this did not stop her earning money by writing anonymous articles on Kenyan polo and hunting from the age of 14: by the time she was 17, she had had 65 articles published in Kenyan newspapers and three in the *Field*, some illustrated with her own photographs.

She was finally sent to the Government European School in Nairobi, where, at 16, she won the Royal Colonial Institute annual Empire Essay prize in 1924. In 1925 she went to Reading University, and, later, Cornell in the US, obtaining a diploma in agriculture, which remained a consuming interest.

In 1929 she became assistant press officer at the Empire Marketing Board, where she developed her journalistic skills by writing more than 135 articles on scientific research and its application in the British Commonwealth and Empire. Here she met her future husband, Gorvass Huxley, then secretary of the Board. Their only child, Charles, was born in 1944. By the second world war, Elspeth had started her broadcast career in earnest, her first venture into radio having been in 1929 for the EMB.

Elspeth wrote four autobiographical novels - *The Flame Trees Of Thika* (1959), *The Mottled Lizard* (1962), *Love Among The Daughters* (1968) and *Out In The Midday Sun* (1985), all of which are still in print.

In 1960 she was appointed as the only woman on the Monckton Commission, set up to study the viability of the then Central African Federation (Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland). The conclusion was that "partnership was a sham". Her ironic views on this were included in *The Merry Hippo* (1963).



Huxley... Kenyan childhood

She visited Africa for the last time in 1995, and by then her writing had turned in part to English country life. *Brave New Victorians* (1990) expressed her unease about artificial farming methods.

Elspeth was warm-hearted and good company; she once told me of her lecture at the LSE in 1937 on *The Influence of Environment and Kinship on Land Tenure with Specific Reference to the Kikuyu*, only to find Jomo Kenyatta in the front row - "ridiculous for me to read a paper on his land tenure and kinship!" When I asked what Joy Adamson was like she replied, "Mad and maddening".

In her foreword to Elspeth Huxley, *A Bibliography* (1996), she wrote: "Today journalism commands a pretty low rating in public esteem, but in my youth it was a much more respected profession." Surely no one could more justly claim to be a leading member of an honourable profession whose life and writing showed her love and concern for humanity and for the nature that supports it.

Robert Cross

Elspeth Joceline Huxley, writer, born July 23, 1907; died January 10, 1997

Red China insider

Helen Foster Snow

THE WORK of Helen Foster Snow, who has died aged 89, was far less well known than that of her husband, Edgar Snow. Yet she spent twice as long with Mao Zedong during the Chinese revolution as he, and her journey into north-west China to find the Red Army was twice as dangerous. Her book *Inside Red China* was even more a mine of information about the unknown Chinese communists than his. And it was she who persuaded Edgar to include almost the full text of Mao Zedong's autobiography - the only version that Mao consented to give during his lifetime - in his *Red Star Over China*. For that, history owes her a great deal.

Yet Edgar made his trip and published his book first, and it became, and remains, the "classic account". Helen (after an unsuccessful attempt to join Edgar in 1936) made her visit and published her book, under the pseudonym Nym Wales, a year later. *Inside Red China* remains unknown except to historians. "After Mr Snow's book", wrote one reviewer, "... the existence of Soviet China is not new news."

After divorce from Edgar, Helen would refer to "the Snow marriage" as if it had been an institution much larger than a relationship between two people. It was both larger and, privately, smaller.

They divorced in 1949, and Helen never remarried. It would be too easy to present Helen's life as overshadowed by that of her husband. She offers an almost obsessively cheerful account of the relationship in her autobiography *My China Years* (1984). Helen was as forceful in her way as Edgar in his. The tension between them was rooted in the friction between these two strong personalities and in sexual incompatibility that was overcome only for a few short periods.

The main problem, writes Edgar's biographer Robert Parnsworth (in *From Vagabond To Journalist*), was that "[Helen] sought out [Edgar] as a writing mentor and only reluctantly accepted marriage, principally as a form of writing partnership."

Helen's contribution to the Chinese industrial co-operative movement Gung Ho was as significant as her writing. Its founder, the New Zealander and ex-Singapore factory inspector Rwei Alley, recalled that it was Helen Snow who first insisted: "There must be a people's movement for production, and the only way to get that is to have the people organise and manage themselves."

Her account of the movement China Builds For Democracy (1941), published in India, encouraged Pandit Nehru to establish thousands of similar industrial co-operatives.

Helen revisited China several times after the Sino-US rapprochement (and Edgar's death) in 1972. Last year China named her a Friend of the People, a title she had won in 1956. She visited China six decades ago, and her work for the Gung Ho co-operatives.

In her autobiography, Helen Snow said she stood for human achievement, space exploration, invention, originality, healthy organic living and maximum development of the individual. But she added, "I like the old Chinese. I worship my ancestors, wear baggy pants, and drink tea."

John Gittings
Helen Foster Snow, writer, born September 21, 1907; died January 11, 1997

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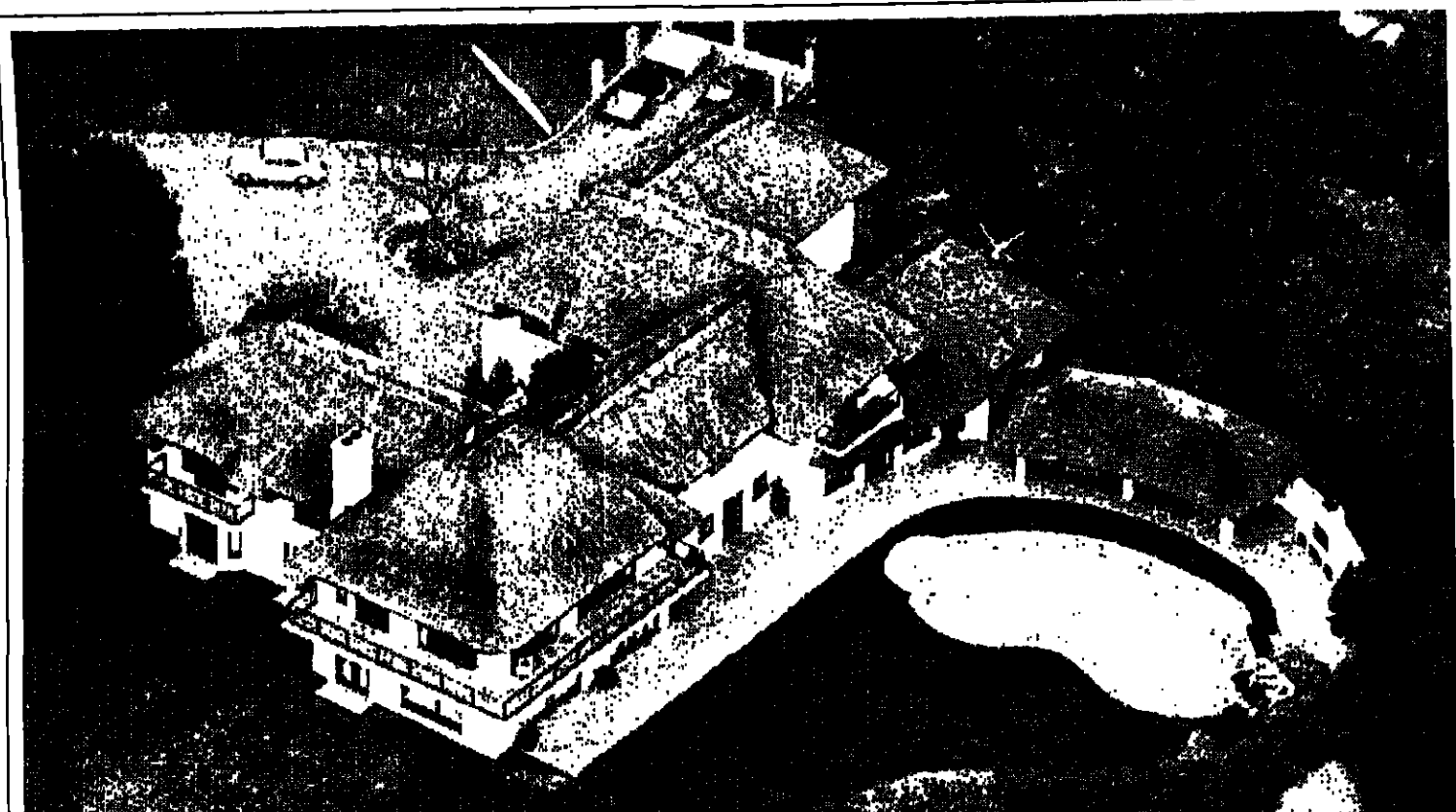
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A modest patch of paradise... Mark and Diane Thatcher and their home in Constantia

You can measure the pleasure of South Africa for Brits by their tans, their bank balances and their swimming pools. **Ruaridh Nicoll** reports on the Anglo-Saxon attitudes that simply poured another gin when apartheid died

Great escape to the Cape

PERCHED up high on the edge of Table Mountain, John Aspinall leans back, relaxed under the eaves of his beautiful Dutch-gabled, Delhi-influenced house. Above him the wind is changing, with warm air from the Indian Ocean buffeting the mountain, condensing and sending dark streamers across the blue sky.

"The English abroad?" Aspinall says, thinking deeply. "Well, they are the English abroad." The zoo owner and casino chief seems to think nothing else need be said and wanders off to take a telephone call. A black maid brings tea.

"Cape Town is very interesting because everybody lives in ghettos, voluntarily of course," Aspinall says when he returns. "You've got Constantia, Kenilworth, Wynberg which are all English, 90 per cent or more. He looks down at the silver teapot and the fine china cups. "I'm very English. I have tea like this, it's a very English habit."

Why then does he live on this hill-

side looking over the Atlantic side of the Cape Peninsula, isolated from his native countrymen, and not in, say, Constantia? "I could never live in a row of villas," he says sounding appalled. "I'm a tribal chief."

Constantia sits across the mountain. Here the English are building High Worzel-on-the-Wold or some such place on South Africa's green and pleasant land. They are arriving in their thousands, among them Mark and Diane Thatcher, Earl Charles and Lady Victoria Spencer (estranged), the Aspinalls (holidays only), and Richard Branson, who spent Christmas here.

Beyond these big names is a great sea of Englishness, rising by class from the solidly middle-class neighbourhoods of Deep River, through Lower Constantia and up to where the aristocracy lap Table Mountain's upper reaches. "This is the start of a British influx," says Pam Golding, the estate agent who sold the Spencers and the Thatchers their homes.

Newcomers keep arriving. Golding hinted that she had just escorted another world-famous British couple around her properties, while the South African Sunday Times claimed last weekend that the Cape is the new Aspen.

Questions spring up. What are they doing here? What do they want? Could it be possible that they see a bright future in Nelson Mandela's new South Africa?

Ever since the English took over the Cape in 1806, there has been a strong British influence around Table Mountain. During apartheid's 35-year reign, ending in the 1995 elections, there was a steady flow of English immigrants who saw opportunities in a country where being white and English-speaking pretty well guaranteed a living. Since Mandela's release in 1990 there has been a fresh influx, growing stronger by the year.

The British High Commission has no real idea of how many Britons there are but they estimate it is 750,000 across the country, centred in Cape Town and Durban, with a smaller grouping of professional types in Johannesburg. In the Cape, which has become a haven of Britishness, they live on private incomes that benefit enormously from the 8-1 exchange rate.

The Brit & Boer is one of the centres of Constantia life. On Fridays the English pile into the wood-panelled room and stand at the long bar drinking the local Castle lager. There are few Boers to be seen and the refined tones of the home counties and occasional glacial stops of estuary English fill the air. The clientele make the place look like a waterfront pub in Devon. The Union Jack hangs in the corner.

An Englishman holds forth: "I'm not a racist," he says. "I just don't like the blacks... or the Jews come to that." His friends bray with laughter as the Cape-Malay barman continues to clean glasses.

Passing the rows of walled houses in Constantia I stop and, feeling a little like one of Aspinall's chimps, peer through a set of thick steel bars protecting Thatcher Jr's property — a low-slung white building, a suitable home for an inept gun-runner out of Texas. A blond, well-armed security guard looks at my card. He smiles at my interview request. "A very long shot," he says.

They don't like reporters here, it cramps their style. Earl Spencer recently won a court order against the intrepid black photographer, Fanle Jason. When the Earl arrived Jason pretended to be a workman doffing his cap and calling him "boss" while secretly taking pictures. "How many times can you depress me?" asks an unrepentant Jason. "Forty years of apartheid, five years in a state of emergency and now this court case. Nothing can depress me."

While Jason cannot be depressed, South African Don Collopy certainly can — he claims to have been cuckolded by the swaggering Earl. (It's not the first time an Englishman has landed in such a pickle; Alan Clark's famous mother and two-daughter harem lives in Constantia). In August Collopy started a court action against Spencer for damages relating to the loss of the "love, affection, comfort, society, consortium and services" of his 37-year-old wife.

Now the dream that brought Spencer to the Cape appears to have turned sour. "The English lifestyle media myth that South Africa is some form of Chianti where the locals have the decency to speak our language and play our sport falls with stunning ineptitude to capture the brutality of a crime-infested state," he writes in this month's *Harpers & Queen*.

The big names are just the icing

on the new English-emigrant cake. The flavour of the whole is made up of the fresh arrivals who, having landed, claim to play no part in the social shenanigans of their more up-market neighbours.

Standing in the garden of her large house, Gina Clifford-Homes says: "Before I came out, if you had asked me where the last place I wanted to be was, then Siberia and South Africa would have been up there."

So why did she come? Her husband Mark, a tall, nerdy and enthusiastic Englishman, came out on business in the early 1990s and returned with Gina, then his fiancée, who says she has never looked back. Mark had made his money as a "greenfield" marketer selling domestic water filters in England. Now he works with his wife as a Herbal-Life distributor. Their house looks out over a famous Cape vineyard and then away across to the mountains. They don't miss England "with its attitude as grey as its sky".

"It was extraordinary living through history," said Mark. "But it was also sad. The things that people say, that the blacks are stupid. The difference is education."

The Clifford-Homes believe that they are not the *southpals*, the Afrikaner slang that means salt-dicks — those with one foot in England and the other in Africa. "This is where our lives are, this is where our commitment is. You can't live here and say 'Oh if this doesn't work we'll move on.' To this end Gina has a proud boast. "When I went to the Herbal-Life extravaganza in Las Vegas I took the South African flag."

Of all the incomers, Aspinall has probably involved himself more in the politics of South Africa than any other Brit. He has been proclaimed a white Zulu for his contributions to the Inkatha Freedom Party's political campaigns. He preaches once in a while to the Zulu gatherings pronouncing his theories about tribal pride. He would like to see, he says, a return to the way of life before the white man came. But he loves old England and couldn't spend his life on this hill.

But there are plenty who would do. Cape Town is not Johannesburg. It is a white paradise surrounded by perceived, if not real black danger. The English are not moving here to celebrate the birth of something new in Africa. They are here because the living is easy.

The black population who work in the area know exactly what the English are doing out here. Many of the people who fill the villas of Constantia could not afford to have a house with tennis courts and swimming pools anywhere else. And there are other advantages.

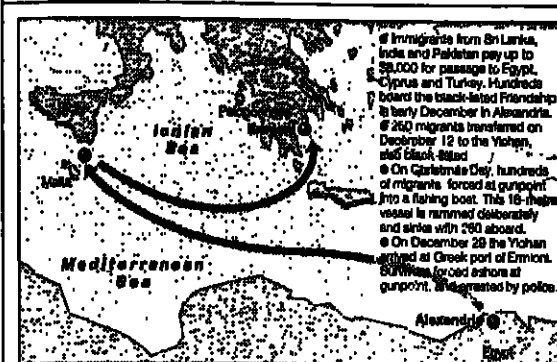
Jackson Cueva is a local black man waiting for his bus. He sits on a low fence in front of a cute row of shops that sell all things English. He holds a leather trilly, a nicely-carved stick and a small bag. I try asking a few questions but it is clear his English is ropey. Suddenly the old man thinks he understands. "Are you looking for a boy?" he asks. Surely I would only talk to him if I wanted to hire him as a servant?

In the end it seems that the new wave of English making their lives in the new South Africa have little to distinguish them from their predecessors in the old. They, too, have brought their prejudices with them. Behind the fences they take another sip of a nice South African wine, shut their eyes, feel the sun on their skin and hope that the white man's vacation will never end.



Happy without the grey skies of England... Gina and Mark Clifford-Homes

PHOTOGRAPH: SEAN SMITH



Drowned in a sea of apathy

A yachtman is rescued; hundreds of illegal immigrants drown. One story is headline news, the other sinks almost without trace. **Euan Ferguson** in Athens reports

IT WAS almost the end of the year, and almost the end of the world. The Peloponnese port of Ermioni, population 2,104, sits forgotten at the remote east end of the Argolid peninsula. Sail round the nub and the next stop south is Monemvasia, literally "only entrance", a benevolent of fortified offshore rock linked to the mainland by a narrow stone causeway, known since the Despotate of Morea as the last place in the world, beyond which nothing existed but the unblinking Aegean.

Two days before 1996 died, the population of Ermioni suddenly increased by 182. Villagers first saw them in the morning, wandering through their town, dazed and shabby and hungry.

"I thought it was a tour party or something, but could not understand why they looked so bad," remembered a widow, Iphigenia. "They were queuing up in the supermarket, buying food as fast as they could. I think they were starving. And gathering round the harbour, trying to find someone to speak English. The next thing I saw that day was the police; they came and rounded them up, into their trucks, like animals. Then they were gone."

"They" were Indians, Pakistanis and Sri Lankans forced to wade ashore the preceding night, at gunpoint, from the ship that had brought them illegally to Europe.

They had spent the stormy night hiding in a warehouse and sheltering in an olive grove; and when dawn broke they ignored the orders to wait for a week, broke cover and walked into town. When the police arrived that afternoon from the Peloponnese tourist centre of Nafplion — alerted by taxi drivers, who had been offered "very good money, many dollars" by some of the immigrants to run them north to Athens — some ran down the street to escape, but were soon caught; others gave up immediately. Others still had already fled; some taxi drivers have now admitted they took the money and made the three-hour drive to the Greek capital.

They asked first for food, and second for toothpaste. And then, by and by, in the jails at Nafplion and Argos, and during that tawdry

lay and squatted between 458 and 465 would-be Asian migrants, expecting to be landed soon in Sicily. They did not like the crew, nor trust them, but had paid their money; their only choice was to rely on the likes of al-Halal, Zervoudakis and the second and third mechanics on board, Michalis Fanourakis and Andonis Sklianiakis. Within hours, more than half their number would have been murdered by these people.

This smuggling run was no shoe-string affair. It had been well-organised, across continents, and cost them a lot of money; most were young farmers who had been lured — by TV as much as anything else — to what they believed was a better life in the West. "They were not starving at home, but they thought Europe would give them paradise," said Pakistan's ambassador to Greece, Rasheer Ahmad.

Their journeys had begun separately, for some as far back as autumn. It was on September 26 that the first Pakistanis joined a boat, allegedly the Alex 1, in Antakya, Turkey, transferring on October 6 to a vessel believed to be the Ena, in which conditions were particularly squalid. Early in December, as the Yiohan sailed the Mediterranean on its voyage of collection, they joined it. They had paid \$4,000.

THE SRI Lankans paid even more; \$8,000 at the beginning, to the organiser in Colombo, then, after being flown to Cairo and driven to Alexandria, where they gave a further \$1,000 to a quayside Greek. Early in December they boarded the Panamanian-registered Friendship, another Interpol favourite, and set sail north out of Africa.

Most of the Indians meanwhile, paying about \$5,000, had flown (probably from New Delhi) to Larnaca, Cyprus, where they waited. As December rolled to an end, the Yiohan began to pick up its cargo, sailing to Larnaca, to Alexandria and Syria, and meeting the Friendship one night somewhere in the southern Mediterranean to transfer the Sri Lankans. By Christmas Eve, it is believed, there were about 88 Pakistanis, 149 Sri Lankans and up to 227 Indians on board, plus a handful of crew. That day, in Malta, a boat

slipped its moorings in the port of Floriana. Zervoudakis was on board, having lunched on the island, it is believed, a few days before. He was accompanied by two Maltese residents, Dionysis Argerinos and the Pakistan-born Marcel Barbera.

The launch had no name. In a harsh echo of Montserrat's post-war short story, *The Ship That Died Of Shame*, she had also once been a British forces vessel, an 18-metre wooden ex-RAF search and rescue launch known as F174, later converted for fishing work but still given no name. Maltese police were watching her, suspecting she would be used for immigrant traffic, and asked their navy to look out for her at sea (as, elsewhere, others were searching for the Yiohan, convinced after tip-offs that she was being used for a major immigrant run), but the F174 would never be found.

She met up with the Yiohan shortly after midnight, it is believed, halfway across the Malta-Sicily channel. Her mission, apparently, had been to lift the migrants in batches and take them to a quiet Sicilian beach. At about 3am, the first Indians climbed down rope ladders from the Yiohan for the last leg of their journey; a fast final run, they thought, to their new world.

What first went wrong is not known. The Yiohan's captain, al-Halal, may have panicked, or come across radio traffic which told him authorities were out there searching for him, even on Christmas morning; he was, say survivors, by this stage very drunk.

What is known is that the F174 was able to hold only about 100 souls. Yet al-Halal and his crew kept forcing them down the ropes. The screams had begun. Some were falling straight overboard, never touching the F174. Not all could swim.

And then came the real tragedy — or the real evil. As the F174 floundered, bodies wallowing both in it and in the stormy dark water around, the men from Malta who had taken their money, Zervoudakis, Barbera and Argerinos, jumped ship, climbing on to the Yiohan. They must have seen what was coming. Whether the Yiohan deliberately rammed the floundering ship, or just caught, it by accident, differs according to survivors' testimony.

The fact that the Greek authorities have issued arrest warrants for mass murder for the three Greeks involved — Zervoudakis, Fanourakis and Sklianiakis, the last two of whom are thought to have been the

ones holding the rifles — suggests they believe the former. But, about an hour after the transfer had begun, the Yiohan turned in the water and its bow caught the F174 amidships. It sank quickly. Then the Yiohan steamed on to Greece, to dump the rest at Ermioni.

Whether the ramming was al-Halal's decision, having realised he had a potential disaster on his hands and deciding to make it quick rather than slow, will not be known until he is found. His wife, in Athens, has not heard from him since December 27 when he called, allegedly saying he was in Romania. But steam on he and his crew did. They knew what they had done, but they still had control of the remaining 182 migrants, and may well have assumed that, even if they did tell their story, no one would believe them. They were, after all, just a bunch of illegal immigrants. They had no power. No one cared. And in this, the Yiohan's crew may have got it right.

But now the calls have started to come in. From America, and Canada, and Europe, to the Greek embassies of India and Pakistan: where is my friend, they want to know? Where is my relative? He was coming to Europe, and then to stay with me; he had paid money. What has happened? And finally the story is being believed. Crucially, a diary had been kept by one of the survivors. "From the day he started the journey he noted every single detail," said a Greek investigator. "It was absolutely meticulous. I don't think anyone could have made it up."

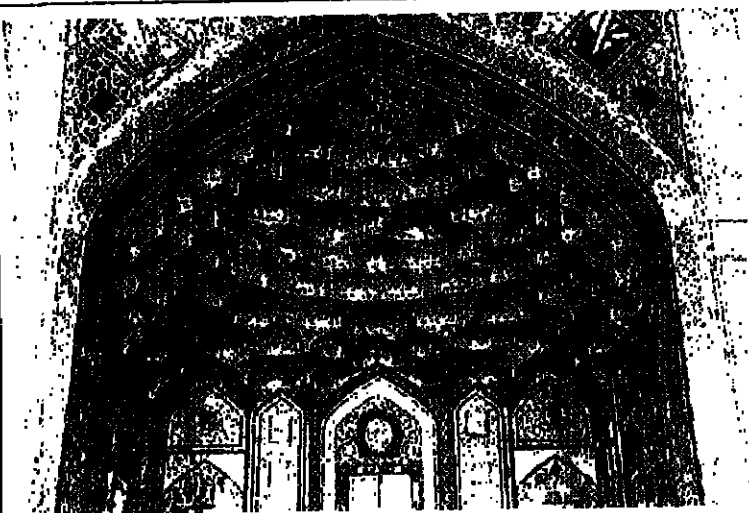
THE NAFPLION prosecutor took only two hours reading the migrants' depositions to decide there was a case of mass murder on the high seas.

That it has taken weeks to become a "story" surprises some, such as British yachtman Tony Bullimore, who has the grace to wonder why his own tale captured headlines while this one did not. The answer is simple; many died, but they were the wrong kind of dead. Fortress Europe does not want to know what's happening on its shores; it doesn't want to accept people are dying, daily, because of co-ordinated draconian immigration laws, many drawn up in a spirit of populism rather than humanity. The dead were acting illegally, and they were black. And no one cared.

In October 1992, this writer remembers covering the El Al disaster in Amsterdam, when a cargo jet, containing little but crates of Chanel No 5 and several tonnes of aviation fuel, took off from Schiphol Airport and flew straight into a block of flats in the suburb of Bijlmermeer, killing almost everyone inside. Forty-three dead was the official figure, but it could have been far higher, for the poor suburb was home to Surinamese immigrants, many of whom were there illegally; no proper records were kept. In rich old Amsterdam, seeking reaction, I asked one fat café owner what he thought about the tragedy. He shrugged: "They were immigrants. Hey, the plane fell in the right place."

Then, at least there was brief evidence of world interest. In Greece, there was none. It is disconcerting to arrive to cover a disaster that did not, apparently, happen. It numbs the soul to realise that it did. — *The Observer*

Additional reporting by Helena Smith, Athens; John Hooper, Rome; Phil Goodwin, Islamabad; and Peter Beaumont, London



The Palace of Forty Pillars (above) and the serene 18th century theological college (right) are two of the sights that make Isfahan the jewel of Iran's nascent tourism sector. PHOTOS: ADRIENNE KEMPH COHEN

Half the World puts on a smile

Isfahan is the magnificent scene of Iran's second revolution — tourism. But strict Islamic rules remain, reports David Hirst

IT GOES without saying that tourism and the values of the Islamic Republic do not mix — in fact, they often clash head-on. Nowhere is that more lamented than in Isfahan.

"Half the World", its inhabitants call it, ever since a European traveller exclaimed that of all the Earth had to offer of beauty, ease and refinement, this former capital of the Safavid dynasty possessed half of it. Its mosques, royal palaces and pavilions are bedecked with brilliant ceramics. It is hard to fathom how such gorgeous places spawned an Islamic revolution so addicted to the colour black, so seemingly dark and joyless.

But the Islamic Republic now has an officially encouraged "tourist industry", and Isfahan explains why: 80 per cent of visitors come to the city. The trickle of tourists began after the Iraq-Iran war ended in 1988, rising from 90,000 that year to 420,000 in 1996.

It is paltry by world standards. But it is a breakthrough, even a rev-

olution of sorts. Many still do not like the idea of foreign visitors at all, unless they are pilgrims to the shrines of Qom or Meshed.

Unfortunately, the average pilgrim spends about half the money of the average German tourist. Despite its oil wealth, Iran badly needs foreign capital. What's more, some mullahs who have acquired a taste for capitalism and high living have realised that Iran's historic riches can make a handsome contribution to their lifestyles.

An organisation called the Foundation for the Oppressed is by far the largest tourism operator. It owns many of the best hotels, and is planning a tourist airline. This seems odd to the tourists, but it is not to Iranians. They have watched the gradual transformation of clerically sponsored charitable bodies into vast, feather-bedded corporations. The second biggest operator is called the Martyr's Foundation.

The organisations are cash-rich, but not noted for efficiency. Visitors to Isfahan are well advised to head for the privately run Shah Abbas Hotel — a splendid legacy of the Shah's era — rather than the Kowsar Hotel run by the Martyr's Foundation. The Kowsar is well supplied with bedside Korans, prayer rugs, and arrows pointing towards Mecca, but — despite its five stars



— its fittings are glitzy, its decor tawdry, and the water issues from its showers in wild, scalding bursts. "Our decision is to say 'Welcome to tourists'", said Rahmatollah Firouzpour, Isfahan's tourism chief.

"But they must obey our rules." This means no booze or public displays of affection, and women, who must be covered from head to foot, are debarred from beaches or hotel pools.

It is well understood that only "high quality" tourists will put up with that. They tend to be elderly, often retired couples — married, of course, for nothing terrifies a recep-

A greater deterrent to tourists even than Islamic "values" is the reputation which, since Ayatollah Khomeini, Iran has earned as a land of religious fanatics.

"We know some of them are nervous," said Muhammad Outad, a tour guide. "So I greet them with flowers at the airport."

Mr Outad is a sociologist who, with the revolution, lost his job. Many like him — academics, engineers, a retired general or two — have found an unexpected new function. To Mr Outad it is almost a vocation to show the world, through tourists, that the mullahs' Iran is not the real one.

The flowers make an improbable touch. But the tour guide's vital work at Tehran airport is to shepherd his newly arrived flock past scruffy, surly customs officials apt to inflict on individual foreigners the same malevolent, intrusive search which they do on their compatriots.

Women are expected to respect Islamic dress codes as soon as they board an Iran Air flight. Should any fail to equip herself with the necessary, all-enveloping gear, it is the tour guide's responsibility to supply it. Few fail to comply. "They are very obedient," said Mr Outad.

But even high-quality tourists like to relax. So more secular-minded tourism agencies are pressing for concessions — apparently, even for alcohol in select hotels. That seems about as likely as miniskirts in Qom. But at the Ali Qapu Hotel in Isfahan, the Foundation for the Oppressed has thoughtfully installed a second swimming pool for the use of female guests.

And visitors to the Caspian can always do as the natives do: segregation applies to the beaches only and nothing stops people from swimming out half a mile, to beyond the dividing screen, and joining their partners in the privacy of the sea.

On balance, most visitors go home impressed by the genuine warmth and hospitality of which mass tourism is notoriously destructive.

And the good news from Tehran airport is that visitors no longer risk losing holiday souvenirs on the way out. Foreigners are forbidden to despoil Iran of its "heritage". To bearded revolutionaries-turned-customs officials, it used to be that what looked worn or dirty must be old — and a priceless antique.

Now, on the way out, if not yet on the way in, the scruffy officials have disappeared — almost.

tionist like an unmarried couple asking for a room. Mass tourism is a non-starter. "We don't want problems," said Mr Firouzpour.

Everyone knows that, so far, the main "problem" has come less from infidel Westerners than fellow Muslims of the newly independent Central Asian republics. These flooded over the northern border, buying up so many cheap local commodities that prices soared.

However, the real scandal was the ladies of easy virtue who came with them — and the Iranians who patronised them.

food supply. Cats had almost nothing to do with it.

So it was decided to trap the cats. But years of living off their wits on a cold, bleak rock had bred a race of top-flight felines and, after two years of almost unalloyed failure, the scientists decided to get tough. In 1977, with a no-more-Mr-Nice-Ecologist attitude, they introduced *panleucopenia*, a highly contagious, cat-specific viral disease. Nineteen years and several hundred thousand dollars later, Marion Island was finally declared cat-free.

But just when ecologists were considering letting out a relieved sigh and thinking that maybe a few rodents weren't so bad after all, comparisons showed that Marion's insects were much less abundant than on neighbouring islands. Moreover, insect-eating birds, such as the lesser sheath-bill and the Kelp gull, were much less common on Marion, foraged in smaller flocks and

were rarely seen inland. Like the seabirds, their guano and feathers were important in the island's nutrient ecology. Studies showed that Marion's mice were the culprits, eating up to 40 tons of insects every year.

To make things worse, the extermination of the cats coincided with several years of comparatively clement weather. Lacking cats and cold to control them, mouse numbers soared, further driving down insect numbers, and with them the numbers of Kelp gulls and sheathbills. Now there is evidence that the mice are slowing down the nutrient recycling of the island as they eat most of the insects that feed on dead animal and plant material.

The potential ecological consequences are grave and, at a recent crisis meeting in Pretoria, it was decided to wipe out Marion mice once and for all. But, given the island's history, both the process and the solution are unlikely to be either quick or simple.

Jerry beats Tom in cat-and-mouse war

WHEN it comes to damaged or disturbed eco-systems, human tinkering usually does more harm than good, writes Adrian Barnett. Like a British DIY mechanic trying to work from a Swedish instruction manual, the changes often show only how little understood the mechanism was in the first place. A lovely example of this is provided by the saga of the Marion Island mice.

A sub-Antarctic island lying in the southern Indian Ocean, Marion is part of the Prince Edward archipelago and was once a provisioning point for whalers. House mice escaped from the visiting ships and quickly colonised the 290-square-kilometre island. With little suitable plant food available, these adaptable rodents turned to insects, especially the larvae of the local

flightless moth, *Pringleophaga marioni*.

In 1948, the South African government decided to eradicate all foreign species on the island. The concern was that the rodents could affect the local seabird population, possibly stealing their eggs or giving an occasional severe nibbling to the young. Despite well-known failures elsewhere, it was decided that there was only one thing for it: cats would be introduced to control the mice.

Unfortunately (but characteristically), the five founding moggers switched quickly from a diet of tiny, fast-running and largely bony introduced rodents to the more succulent and sedentary meals provided by the island's 14 species of nesting seabirds. By the mid-1970s, the island's cats, now numbering some 2,000, were killing half a million

seabirds a year, with the body count increasing by around 23 per cent annually.

As the seabird numbers plummeted, ecologists began to notice changes in the island's vegetation. Studies revealed that guano and decomposing feathers from the seabirds were a major source of nutrients for the island's plants. The cats' dietary preferences were reducing the number of depositors, and so having a huge impact on Marion's ecology. To make matters worse, the cats were having little effect on their intended prey. Mice comprised just 16 per cent of the cats' annual diet. Detailed studies of their population ecology showed that winter cold was the main controller of the number of Marion Island mice, combined with occasional population crashes when summer numbers over-reached the

flightless moth, *Pringleophaga marioni*.

flightless moth, *Pringleophaga marioni*.

Greeks reveal great find of modern times

Helena Smith in Athens

THE Lyceum where Aristotle taught philosophy to the citizens of Athens has been discovered in one of the most sensational archaeological finds since the creation of the modern Greek state 170 years ago.

The discovery of the West's first university ends the quest to locate all three of the famous gymnasia in which the mind as well as the body was exalted by the fathers of democracy.

Archaeologists came across the complex's 4th century BC foundations during routine excavation work for Athens' new Museum of Modern Art. Amid national euphoria over the find, officials announced it would automatically deepen scholars' knowledge of classical Athens, including the layout of the Golden Age city.

In more modern terms it was, said Yannis Tzedakis, who directs the department of antiquities at the culture ministry, "like coming across the workshop of Leonardo da Vinci. Aristotle spent 13 years teaching there and Socrates was a frequent visitor. We've been looking for it since independence [from the Turks]."

Efi Lygouri, who headed the excavation work, realised she had found the Lyceum when archaeologists unearthed part of its palaestra, an enclosed area where young men would primarily practise wrestling. Although the walls were built in the 4th century BC, additional finds showed that the Romans had added to and modified the building until the 4th century AD.

The archaeological finds and the architecture of the building were very important, but literary sources also played a very big role in convincing us we had found the school," Dr Lygouri said.

Pausanias, the great Roman travel writer, detailed the ancient gymnasium when he toured Greece after its occupation by Rome in the 2nd century AD. But it was Plato

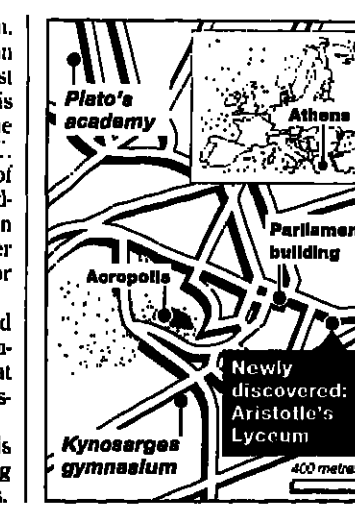


Aristotle... discovery of his Lyceum ends the quest for all three of the famous gymnasia exalted by the fathers of democracy

who first spoke of the Lyceum, especially its undressing rooms, in his *Dialogues*. As Socrates' most famous follower, he had founded his own school, the Academy, at the beginning of the 4th century BC. Epikrates, a comic poet, wrote of the philosopher benevolently standing over a crowd of young men "earnestly trying to define whether a pumpkin is a vegetable, a grass or a tree."

In 1930, a passer-by stumbled across the remains of that gymnasium while walking through what has now become a wretched industrial zone.

The British School at Athens is credited in 1886 with discovering the third gymnasium, of Kynosarges.



Notes & Queries Joseph Harker

WHAT happened to all the money George Bernard Shaw left to further the cause of spelling reform?

IT GOT wasted. — Fearghal McKay, Dublin

WHEN Shaw died in 1950 he nominated the Public Trustee his executor. After a sally through the law courts the spelling bee had its wings clipped down to a capital sum of only £8,300. In 1957 the Public Trustee launched a prize contest for the design of a new 40-letter alphabet called for by Shaw. In accordance with Shaw's will, Andros and The Lion was unscripted into it and 13,000 copies were sent to libraries around the world. Ultimately some 40,000 extra paperback copies were produced by Penguin to meet demand. The remaining money went to the British Museum, the Royal Academy of Dramatic Art and the National Gallery of Ireland. I believe the estate is now administered by the

Society of Authors. — Leslie Jerman, Theydon Bois, Essex

ALLEGRO, Astra, Capri, Cortina, Fiesta, Maxi, Viva. What is the marketing theory which dictates that virtually every British post-war car has to have a name ending with a vowel?

FRED BROOKS (December 4) is right and Pat Charnock (December 15) wrong. A vowel is a sound, not a letter: just as "y" is a vowel in "hymn" but not in "yacht", "e" is a vowel in "get" but not in "Alpine". — John Chapman, Sydney, Australia

WHAT is the minimum size for Noah's Ark on the basis of two of every known species and enough food for six weeks?

THE size of Noah's Ark is immaterial, for God said (Genesis 6:15) it had to be 300 cubits long, 50

cubits wide and 30 cubits high (450ft by 75ft by 45ft). But Noah was told to take seven of each clean beast, seven of each fowl of the air and two of each unclean beast. They were in the Ark for more than 12 months, not six weeks.

To survive, not only would space be needed for the animals that were to be saved but also for animals to be used as food. There would also have to be space to store many, many tons of widely varying foodstuffs for them all. There would have to be space to store thousands of boxes in which to keep insects to feed to the insect eaters that were being saved. There would have to be space to grow plants for the pollen, fruit and nut eaters. Space would be needed for gallon upon gallon of fresh water. Also tanks for freshwater fish, and sea fish for feeding to the fish eaters. And, of course, space would be needed for exercising.

Then there would also have to be space in the Ark to store millions of seeds, seedlings and cuttings for them to re-plant the world, for "every living substance was destroyed" (Genesis 7:23). How big

Letter from Tobago Arlene Blade Mejias

Captive audience

ON A WET afternoon our papers, copybooks and magazines get damp with the misty rain that blows in on the classroom at the Scarborough Prison. Eight sheets of galvanised metal lie over the chainlink fence roof of our courtyard. They protect the plywood, all-purpose table where meals, dominoes, draughts and, now, our reading class all take place. But all around, the rain falls through the chainlink.

Rainy days mean I cannot put any National Geographic maps on the wall. The tape won't stick and the map would get wet; anyway none of us would want to stand out in the rain to go through the questionnaire I have prepared. Adult literacy classes can be demanding audiences as anyone who has ever taught one can tell you. High interest subjects are difficult to come by, and here in Tobago those National Geographic maps of Africa, South America and the West Indies are a godsend.

At the very first adult literacy class the prison courtyard overflowed with spectators. The seven prisoners who had signed up for the class were waiting for me at the plywood table. Some had pencils (one even had a pen), some had copybooks, and the three men who had offered to be my assistants were also there. In addition, 18 men were sitting behind them. I expressed surprise at the increased size of the class and was told: "No, it's just the seven there. We've only come to watch." I explained that spectators were inappropriate at a reading class and then watched guiltily as the 18 prisoners were hustled through the gate back to their cells.

Since that first day the class size has fluctuated unpredictably. Remand prisoners may win their cases, others are transferred, some are released and some just stop attending. All the while new students politely present themselves at the plywood table to explain, "I can read you know, Miss, but I would just like to see that piece or just watch for a while."

I have not allowed spectators at

our class, but encouraged the curious to fill out our "registration form". I need test no further to decide whether I have a new student or, indeed, a new member of our Scarborough Public Library Reading Programme, an offshoot of our original class which I initiated on discovering that so many prisoners were good readers.

There are three daily newspapers in Trinidad and Tobago but it is difficult for prisoners to get hold of regular copies. When they go out on a work party to clear brush on someone's property, they may be given that day's edition. Until our class began, this had been the sole injection of reading material into the prison.

One afternoon what I call one of the "good guards" was "watching my back", out at the plywood table. Each student was standing in turn to read his paragraph, describing one of the five villages I had asked them to write about. Their efforts ranged from two brief sentences to rambling portraits. The latter had involved much help from the prison-assistants. Enthusiasm knew no bounds; on anyone's part. Our guard joined in with critiques of each presentation, and brought a fresh perspective to the exercise.

PRISONERS sentenced to more than three years are sent to Trinidad to serve their time. Thus, in Tobago, the prisoners are mostly men who have been convicted for marijuana possession or trafficking, petty thieves or those who have failed to pay maintenance for their children. Cocaine has become common in Tobago during the last few years, and I am told some of my students are inside for stealing to support their addiction. I don't know; I don't ask. Tobago is a tiny island of 50,000 people. Harsh, exclusive judgment of ex-convicts makes life difficult enough for them when they leave the prison. My students' crimes have nothing to do with remedial reading or library books and the subject would only spoil the feeling we seem to have of a common purpose.

"controlled explosion" is fully under control is that the operator knows that a bang will occur when the button is pressed, but the bang's size involves an element of luck. — Sidney Alford (explosives engineer), Corsham, Warwickshire

Any answers?

MY 1997 diary has a page which details the "Moon's phases" for each month. How might this information be useful to me? — Annette Cole, Liverpool

WHAT is it about the flat-topped peaked hat that confers an air of officialdom? — J Ward, Fareham, Hampshire

WHO signs off the Prime Minister's expenses? — Andy Parkin, Moorloun, Leeds

Answers should be e-mailed to weekly@guardian.co.uk, faxed to 0171/4471-242-0985, or posted to The Guardian Weekly, 75 Farringdon Road, London EC2M 3HQ

Rain drowns out the romance

TELEVISION
Nancy Banks-Smith

"WE ALL agreed," the costume designer of *Ivanhoe* (BBC 1) told Radio Times, as make-up dirt was pushed under the fingernails of every hand, "that it shouldn't look too pretty." Why not? The only *Ivanhoe* anyone remembers is the Robert and Elizabeth Taylor version, probably because they were both extravagantly pretty. It was a matter of heated debate which was the prettier. She thought she was. He disagreed.

Walter Scott — slapping his cards on the table — called *Ivanhoe* a romance. It touches reality at no

known point. But romance has been out and realism in for a long time now, and everything is done knee-deep in mud. God forbid I should suggest this has anything to do with money.

In the book, Lady Rowena enters — no, makes an entrance — wearing a sea-green silken gown, a crimson robe, a golden veil and jewels braided in her ringlets. No such luck for Victoria Smurfit. "Which shall it be? The black or the lovat?" asks her blunt Yorkshire maid (not the sort of woman I would risk asking to braid jewels into my ringlets). Rowena wisely chooses the black.

This does not, as one feared, cast a blight on her betrothal party. The groom's already drunk and the guests are shouting in each other's

contused faces. It is often thus. I will pass over the groom's passing out ("Forgive him, Rowena. He's overcome with emotion") and the chef's almost inane partiality for trotters. A chap called Capon was credited as a medieval food stylist, so it must be authentic.

The rain was so relentless it turned the air blue. Perhaps in the next episode, when we reach the big set-piece, the tournament, there will be a bit more silken dalliance and conspicuous expenditure. Or at least the rain may stop.

At the moment virtually everyone is in disguise. It is, however, easy to tell the Saxons from the Normans. The Saxons are much hairier, and hairiest of all is *Ivanhoe* (Steven Waddington). He looked rather like

the Turin Shroud or, as Billy Connolly's father put it during his son's hippy phase, like a tramp keeling out of a loit.

A new Catherine Cookson, *The Wingless Bird*, (Tyne Tees) fits much more naturally on to the TV screen. To save you wasting time worrying about the title, friendship is love without its wings.

Now, listen and tell me if you can taste anything... Sherbet dips, buttercotch, treacle toffee, Pontefract cakes, Bluebird toffee, Fry's six boys chocolate, liquorice bootstraps, gobstoppers, a sugar mouse.

It is 1913 and taken-for-granted Aggie Conway (the excellent Claire Skinner) serves in her father's sweet shop. Their homemade toffee is mangled out in shining sheets. They mould their own pink and white sugar mice. In 1913, people were poured into a mould at birth and there they stayed.

We have three kinds of mice here. Rich mice (the Farriers), tradesmice (the Conways) and rough mice in muffers (the Feltons). When the war breaks the mould, they appear in unexpected places.

Coolson's roots are so deep in her childhood that they seem to drink from an unending aquifer. She surprises you. The sudden violence. The shocking secret. The unexpectedly vivid phrase. Aggie, who wears drab, is daring to try on a lady's dress. She asks: "Where would I wear it?" "In the city." "I'd have the dogs after me." These books are lovingly filmed. You never feel it is a shallow story because the reflections in the mirrors, the deep shine on the mahogany door give a sense of depth. If the streets are preternaturally clean (no horse has been caught short here) and if the men seem cut out with scissors, well, never mind. This is a romance, too.

Touched by God

CINEMA
Jonathan Romney

THERE are many things to respect Whitney Houston for. Like the fact that her song *I Will Always Love You* is the number-one favourite to be played at funerals; or her glacial composure when being propositioned by Serge Gainsbourg on French TV. But despite *The Bodyguard* and *Waiting To Exhale* it's hard to see her as a movie personality. Perhaps it's because Whitney Houston is a brand name first and foremost — a name that figures in every easy-listening CD collection. She's a brand name not as in Sony, but as in Badesas — the reluctant queen.

There's nothing mythical about Whitney, for all the Metropolis robo-goddess drag she sported in *The Bodyguard*. Madonna was clearly destined for celluloid, but as a pop star Whitney has always aspired to the cosy approachability of the chat-show queen or fitness-video host. In *The Preacher's Wife*, she's gone one step further in domestication — here she's seen taking the kids to school, negotiating with the child-minder, making tasty breakfast-time banter with her husband. She's become black America's answer to Wendy Craig.

The Preacher's Wife is the Christmas movie that got away, now reaching Britain like the last of the microwaved turkey. If you're allergic to comfort and joy, be warned: glad tidings are all you'll get from this religious feelgood movie — Songs Of Praise with the best rhythm section Disney money can buy. The image of black America is so cosy it makes *The Cosby Show* look like gritty urban portraiture.

Penny Marshall's film has Denzel Washington as a dapper angel sent to bring good cheer to Courtney Vance, the beleaguered pastor of a black community under threat from mean-spirited property developer Gregory Hines.

Whitney, the preacher's wife, does all she can to whip her man out of the doldrums, mainly by getting her gospel choir to pump up the deebies for Jesus. But Vance is unimpressed by Washington's super-smooth gaucheness, and Houston all too impressed; before long, she's feeling undomestic



'How did that get there?'... Whitney Houston ponders the immaculate conception in *The Preacher's Wife*

urges and singing torch songs at the local nightclub.

But *The Preacher's Wife* promotes sexlessness as a cardinal virtue. The film is a reminder of how Hollywood still can't encompass black sexuality. Even when you have a hot-date billing like Houston and Washington, they can't exchange more than a peck because he's an angel. And she can't be getting up to anything untoward take place within holy wedlock? It's no surprise that when she sings along with the children's Nativity play at the end, she stands in as the Virgin Mary. Only Courtney Vance comes away with any credit, looking deeply unimpressed — like a man who's about to quit the cloth and hit the bottle.

Walking and Talking, Nicole Holofcener's debut feature, is a featherlight comedy about lifelong friends Amelia and Laura, and the guys they live with, hang out with

and lust over — Leching And Kvetching, in other words. We're unmistakably in Friends territory — the film even starts off with a café conversation about a smelly cat (or, at least, one with a vomiting problem).

The story covers all the usual urban singles' crisis points: marriage, therapy, ill-timed answer-phone messages and the perils of dating horror-video nerds. But, as with Friends, the concentration on a self-enclosed, self-absorbed clique makes for a stifling, unnatural feel.

Holofcener's film is another of those leisurely, hipster-targeted romantic comedies that have become the orthodox staple of American independent cinema — *The Brothers McMullen*, *Sleep With Me*, *Denise Calls Up* et al. Such films stand or fall on the charm of their characters, and Holofcener's come across, as unlikely as they are.

Holofcener's sob sisters should double-date the Brothers McMullen — they're made for each other.

Skulduggery and talent unearthed in the mines

THEATRE
Michael Billington

THE Bush Theatre has a new foyer, air-conditioning and fresh paint. But it reopens after five months with a sturdy, well-written and defiantly untrendy play, Richard Cameron's *All Of You Mine* deals with the after-effects of pit closures and the miners' strike on a South Yorkshire village and one riven family in particular.

We know old wounds will be reopened as soon as Verna Cade, estranged from her family for 12 years, returns for the erection of a memorial to five men who died in a presumed pit accident. One of the dead is Joe, Verna's ex-lover and the father of her child. With dogged determination, she seeks to expose the truth: that his death during a safety check by volunteers owed more to sabotage than to chance and that her brother was directly implicated in plans to render the pit unworkable.

The details of what happened 12 years ago remain a little fuzzy, and Cameron's point that militant saboteurs were inadvertently doing the Government's work for them is underdeveloped. What he does show, with great clarity, is the way people prefer to bury the past: a garden centre now covers the site of the old pit, and the family sees Verna as a disruptive nuisance for resurrecting past skulduggery.

Cameron skates over the larger political issues. What he does do very well is excavate family tensions: in particular, Verna's fraught relations with her tough, widowed, near-blind mother, her disappointed sister — married to a boor — and her corrupt, profiteering brother (who got the garden centre contract). Cameron captures exactly the unforgiving nature of family life: Verna is greeted by her mother with the words "You're a few years too late, lass".

Simon Usher's production, filled with the distant sound of children's games and the exquisite melancholy of brass-band hymns, is very strong on atmosphere. Two performers stand out in a generally excellent cast. Marion Bailey is full of ruthless persistence as Verna, and Anne Carroll is monumental as her mother, who lives off marital memories, cannot forgive her daughter's defection and yet secretly yearns for

her love. This kind of performance reminds you that superb acting is not confined to national stages.

Cameron's play has a powerful sense of community, of the way people in South Yorkshire ex-mining villages prefer to smooth over the ruptures and tensions of the recent past while ruefully acknowledging the words of one old inhabitant, that "them with any sense move away".

Satire, according to Broadway legend, is what closes on Saturday night. Not any more: satire is what packs out the Churchill, Bromley, on a January Monday night. Capitalising on their success in the Rory Bremner show, the two Johns — Bird and Fortune — are taking their political double-act on the road.

What struck me is how uncannily similar the mood of *The Long Johns* is to that of the early sixties (the period of TW3, Private Eye, the Establishment Club), in that a largely middle-class audience laps up attacks on a visibly disintegrating government. A sense of national decay is clearly a boon for satirists.

The format in the six sketches is much the same: one or other of the Johns adopts the role of George Parr, who is always a po-faced apologist for some spectacular public ineptitude. They begin with a real better in which Parr is a health-management consultant, shakily defending, in Bromley's case, the closure of three local hospitals and the use of private finance to build a single replacement. When the interviewer objects that Granada, one of the partners in the new hospital, is a specialist in medical fiction, Parr jauntily replies, "So is the National Health Service".

Forget Basilidon: when an audience in Bromley roars its approval of a fierce attack on health privatisation, something is clearly stirring.

What is commendable about Bird and Fortune is that they don't always go for soft targets. Their assaults on the redundant Euro-fighter and an oleaginous merchant banker ("If you succeed, you get rewards; if you fail, you get compensation") may be relatively safe. But one sketch, in which Parr becomes a Howardesque spokesman for security units for young offenders, achieves an almost Swiftian cruelty. Reminded that a number of incarcerated youths have committed suicide, Fortune's Parr remarks, with a smoothly purring self-satisfaction, "Well, that's a start, isn't it?"

Old jazz dog with a few tricks to teach

JAZZ
John Fordham

THE virtues of Old Jazz and New Jazz were represented on two London stages on the same night last week. Unlike in the political arena, however, both tendencies laid their cards on the table.

Gene Harris, the 64-year-old pianist from Michigan, delivered a stomping virtuoso performance of mainstream swing, gospel, blues and boogie-woogie at the Jazz Café, to prove that even the most travel-weary of orthodox materials can be explosively rejuvenated in the right hands. Down the road in Soho, Andy Sheppard, the 39-year-old saxophonist from Warrminster, brought a crisp and classy new quartet to Ronnie Scott's, demonstrating that similar virtues to Harris's — intelligent use of dynamics, building of narrative logic, teasing balances of compelling grooves against eloquent rumination — work even if the repertoire are chalk and cheese.

If you miss the kind of jazz in which the audience gongs and cheers the band to still more ecstatic heights, like a congregation driving on a holy-rolling preacher, Gene Harris was the remedy. Harris, who functions like a more bluesy and less pyrotechnical Oscar Peterson, was working with favourite local partner Jim Mullen on guitar, Andy Cleynert on bass, Martin Drew on drums. Harris can play the

lightest of just about any jazz piano style ever conceived apart from free jazz, but for all his virtuosity he's a better group player than Peterson, and much of the atmosphere and tension of his work derives from knowing when to drop out and let the pulse do the work.

The Jazz Café performance launched an unbroken flow of pieces off the back of each other without announcement, seething swing suddenly hurtling out of densely weaving unaccompanied arpeggios, dropping away into slow left-hand blues patterns hit so hard as to threaten the life of the piano frame, charging boogie-woogie turning abruptly into a caressing account of *Misty*. But beneath all this were less explicit but crucial qualities such as Harris's exquisite control of tone and his work's passionate inspiration in the blues. Old Jazz certainly, but the message is indestructible.

Following this hell-raising performance, Andy Sheppard's at Ronnie Scott's was bound to seem a shade retiring, but though the set did get stuck on one lengthy mid-tempo Latin shuffle, for the most part an excellent new group suggested the saxophonist continues to avoid stereotyping himself.

Sheppard used the device of atonal music unceremoniously hurled into the midst of regular melody a couple of times, and the contrasts worked almost as well as Gene Harris's mischievous coupling of roaring boogie against lush balladeering earlier in the evening.

ART
Adrian Searle

FOR DAYS I have been wrestling with Tony Cragg's sculptures. They haunt, berate and confuse me, with their fertile, bristling, flopping, often indescribable and generative forms. There are carved wooden angels, cut up and re-assembled with hardware-store hooks; an upright piano and chairs which also bristle with shiny hooks; plaster bells; piles of plates, bronze gastropods, a gigantic fibre-glass grub and a work which resembles nothing so much as a dinosaur's denture. This last work is called *Complete Omnivore*, which is an apt description of Cragg as an artist.

Cragg is seen too rarely in Britain since he decamped to Wuppertal in Germany's industrial heartland almost 20 years ago. This major survey of recent work, filling the Whitechapel Art Gallery in London until March 9, with yet more — to be viewed by appointment only —

over at the Lisson Gallery, makes an effort to catch up with him. The echoing vault of the Whitechapel's ground floor space has never looked so good, cleared of its dividing screens and filled with a diverse group of Cragg's sculpture. Some appear to have grown or self-replicated rather than having been manufactured. Nautilus, a pale, baroque surrealist table, seems to have either eroded or to have accrued by some slow biological or chemical process. From it grow old stumps and dangling, foetal limbs.

Boy, a bloated, tan-coloured grub, heaves itself across the floor like some kind of giant larva or anorophous intestine. It ought to be revolting with its blunted, melded segments and its abdominal, insect curves, yet it somehow manages to be quite pert, and beguiling with its compound silhouette of circles and bulges. Early Forms is a black bronze work which sits on the floor like some kind of undersea invertebrate. Looking at it one cannot tell quite where the outside ends and the inside begins. It is like a wave

flowing through and around itself; flipped, ridged, curling like a slug's foot. We seem to catch the inanimate material just at the point where it dreams itself into life.

And then, beyond it, a sudden change of pace. *Spyrogyra*, a mad take on Marcel Duchamp's bottle-rack, which in Cragg's version has become a roller-coasting, spiralling tunnel-ride, sprouting sand-blasted wine bottles, fancy novelty liquor bottles, brandy bottles and odd-shaped vessels which belong as much in the science lab as behind the bar. Life here has taken an odd, drunken turn.

Right at the back of the space squat two unreadable, unnameable forms called *Secretions*. With their anthropomorphic, involuted curves, amoebic hollows and pregnant out-pouches, they defy reading. As one turns around the forms they too appear to turn, and one is drawn on and on from unexpected profile to unexpected profile. Where they should be convex they are concave, where we imagine they should bulge they suck themselves in.

The arrival in 1994 of Barabba's



Dicing with life... Tony Cragg's unreadable *Secretions* at the Whitechapel Art Gallery. PHOTO: AMORALIS

Exploding the creation myth

ART
Adrian Searle

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The arrival in 1994 of Barabba's

Their surfaces, too, are meandering and unfixable, tessellated with thousands of ivory-coloured dice, like a trillion genetic triggers and switches. *Secretions* speaks of endless self-renewal, a continual random, exponential growth.

There's almost too much going on, too many issues, too much invention, too many concerns. Herein lies Cragg's energy, and, like the sculptures themselves, his inquiring mind turns in on itself, sprawls, has sudden flashes, searches endlessly for a kind of order in a world already filled with too many facts, too many things. No wonder we get scrambled.

Upstairs at the Whitechapel, there is both too much going on and not enough room to let things breathe. Cragg's giant bronze and wax rubber stamps just don't work, a second arrangement of drilled plaster forms seems unnecessary, and the tempo gets lost as one comes to the wooden angels, the piano and chairs pierced by all those glowing hooks.

Cragg takes the world we fondly imagine ourselves to be familiar with and shows us the world as God's — and man's — botched job, in all its voluptuous, repulsive, obdurate strangeness.

If certain of his works resemble the laughable monsters of B-movie science fiction, or blown-up metamolecules, gargantuan whorls and colonies of bacteria, the sculptures over at the Lisson art, by contrast, almost too sedate.

He has built three tall forms from huge plaster dishes, pots and bowls to create fan-fair giant chess pawns. Nearby on two plinths stand clustered piles of Royal Doulton crackery — turquoise, bowls, cups and saucers and dinner plates. It is disconcerting to note that they've been glued together, and their sense of teetering equilibrium is a fix.

Cragg's work has one reaching for superlatives. But there's a caveat — part of the exhilaration of the work rests in its unevenness. His generosity towards his own sculpture includes being generous toward his flaws. And failures and flaws — as much as consummate successes — give us an insight into the artist's complex relationship with the world. What Cragg gives us is endless complexity.

And there is a logic to Barabba's success. Clowns, after all, are meant to go against the grain of whatever is around them. Not for nothing is the archetypal clown persona that of the tramp, the homeless wanderer without money or family. The great clown always gives the appearance of existing in isolation from of society.

Their plays are not mere compendiums of physical feats, but well-shaped stories. Their wordless, though far from noiseless, comedy depends on an ability to move between rigorous physical drama, drawing as much on tag wrestling as on dance, and the finely observed, subtly evoked playing-out of scenes from ordinary life.

Aid to the skills employed in these contrasting styles a brilliantly inventive use of props, a confident deployment of magic tricks and a very clever excursion into puppetry. And it becomes obvious that Barabba's combination of athleticism and delicacy is drawing on a formidable range of theatrical strengths.

They seem to have the kind of demented dedication to their art that alone can give the clown the slightly inhuman air of loneliness and isolation that puts an uneasy edge on the audience's laughter.



Mime pioneer: Mikel Murfi

describing itself as "Ireland's first production company dedicated to the traditions of clown, buffoon and *commedia dell'arte*", thus seemed to be no more than the preliminary to another broken promise. Veronica Coburn, Raymond Keane and Mikel Murfi, the company's founders, looked likely to end up miming the flogging of a dead horse. Instead, the progress of the company in little over two years has been astonishing.

The great vacillator

Richard Marlow

Thomas Cranmer
by Diarmaid MacCulloch
Yale University Press 692pp £29.95

THOMAS CRANMER'S hearted visage looks out with a wary eye from the cover of this thick book. His archiepiscopal robes, like his beard, are snowy white, but his cap and vest-like outer garment are black. The contrasting colours are symbolic of Henry VIII's Archbishop of Canterbury who always "has been portrayed as a hero or a villain", as Diarmaid MacCulloch puts it in this magnificent, Whitbread prizewinning biography.

MacCulloch does not flinch before truth; he recounts Cranmer's cruelties with no effort to paint them over. Yet finally he is seduced, like John Foxe the martyrologist, by Cranmer's last grand gesture — chained to the stake with the fire blazing around him, thrusting his right hand into the flames and shouting to the throng gathered at Oxford to see him die, "For as much as my hand offended, writing contrary to my heart, my hand shall first be punished there-for". As the hand burned like a torch, he repeated as long as he was able, "this unworthy right hand . . . this hand hath offended".

So this fearful, vacillating man died a glorious martyr, and the recollection under Queen Elizabeth of his final defiance helped banish the papal church from England. MacCulloch confesses to "a wary affection for the Church of England". He has concluded, he says, that those who have painted Cranmer as a hero have usually distorted less of the evidence than those who made him a villain. "Weak and confused," he could be. MacCulloch says: "criminally dishonest and treacherous he was not." Fair enough. But many readers will find poetic justice in Cranmer's fiery death after a career that helped hurry religious dissidents like John Lambert, Joan of Kent and others to the stake.

The standard modern defence of those in the past who burned heretics has been that "everybody was doing it". But everyone was not doing it. Erasmus and John Foxe stand out as untiring foes of this uniquely Christian practice, and there were many others. Cranmer was not among their number.

Did he have a private life? He was

married twice. His first wife died young. MacCulloch demolishes the old canon that Cranmer hauled his second wife around in a trunk to keep her existence secret from Henry VIII — who had strong views about sexual morality and detested the idea of a married clergy. Yet it is striking that in all his voluminous correspondence, Cranmer mentions her only once.

I have never liked him much; nothing in this absorbing biography changed my own judgment on the weakness of his character. As MacCulloch admits, Cranmer might not have made his last thunderous affirmation of his faith had he not been convinced that Queen Mary, whom he had proclaimed a bastard, was resolved to see him die no matter how abjectly he tried to save his skin.

Yet what a wonderful book this is! MacCulloch knows the sources like a woodsman who knows every tree in the forest. He writes with a narrative drive and an ability to capture scenes that make us turn the pages with eager anticipation to see what happens next. He handles an enormous cast of characters with the aplomb of one who seems to have conversed with all of them.

Cranmer's great problem was common to all "evangelicals" (the sensible term MacCulloch uses to describe those we often call Protestants). Where does authority lie? In Scripture alone, interpreted by the faithful believer, said Luther — who poured thousands of acid pages on the heads of those who found in Scripture messages different from his own. But individual interpretation of scripture could lead to sedition — a terrifying spectre that haunts almost every political treatise of the 16th century.

Scripture has much to say about the virtues and eschatological triumph of the poor. Jesus mused that it was harder for a rich man to enter heaven than for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle. Many radicals took him literally. MacCulloch shows how Cranmer hated and feared these "Anabaptists".

IF THE PAPAL church was the Antichrist, as evangelicals believed, who was to define religious authority and keep secular order? It suited both Cranmer and Henry VIII to decree that this responsibility belonged to the king. Cranmer's position lay entwined in lethal contradictions. During his trial, a confused and brow-beaten Cranmer assented to the absurd proposition that in the Apostle Paul's day, Nero was head of the church. His own Nero was Queen Mary, and she made short work of him.

The presence of Christ in the eucharist, the place of the dead among the church of the living, and conformity in Christian worship — all treated by MacCulloch in luminous detail — were secondary to royal supremacy, the wheel of theological fortune that lifted Cranmer from obscurity to the heights and hurled him to destruction.

As MacCulloch points out the contradictions of royal supremacy remained endemic in the Anglican Church, although now even most Anglicans care little about them. Such indifference would be worse to Cranmer than death by fire.

To order a copy of Thomas Cranmer at the special discount price of £25 see Books@TheGuardian Weekly



ILLUSTRATION CHRISTOPHER SHARROCK

A whale of a book

Philip Home

Herman Melville: A Biography
Volume 1, 1819-1851
by Herschel Parker
Johns Hopkins 981pp £27.50

"IT IS by no means the sort of book for you. It is not a piece of fine feminine Spitalfields silk — but is of the horrible texture of a fabric that should be woven of ships' cables & hausers. A Polar wind blows through it, and birds of prey hover over it. Warn all gentle fastidious people from so much as peeping into the book — on risk of a lumbago and sciatica." This breezy hyperbole comes from Herman Melville himself, discouraging a woman friend from reading his great novel, *Moby-Dick*, in 1851. The warning is, of course, also a challenge and an incitement.

We might well issue some such warning to prospective readers of Herschel Parker's first, giant volume of his two-part biography of Melville, which takes us up to the brink of the publication of the book of the whale. At nearly 1,000 pages his whale of a book will flatten many laps.

Yet by mercilessly treating the reader as an equally committed Melvillean, pressing us on board his Ahab-like pursuit of accuracy, Parker communicates his enthusiasm, involves us — despite our

selves — in Melville's extraordinarily adventurous struggle to become one of the "masters of the great Art of Telling the Truth".

The volume has the arc of a great rags-and-riches family saga. Father and mother were both American aristocrats falling on hard times, children of heroes of the War of Independence. Herman's father was an eloquent, much-liked but self-destructive character, a merchant who ran through the family fortunes, sinking a sublime \$20,000 into debt before cracking up and dying in 1832. Widow, sons and daughters were left to face the creditors. At 12, discontinuing his education, Herman became a clerk in a bank. One can imagine him saying, like his later office-slave hero Bartleby, "I would prefer not to", but the plunge of the family away from privilege led him lower still: helper in his brother's cap-and-fur store, school-teacher, small farmer, hired hand — and, in 1839, sailor before the mast, in due course whaleman.

His rich and peculiar time sharing the life of "roving sailors in the Pacific", deserting and joining a succession of ships in the Marquesas, Tahiti and the Sandwich Islands, allowed him to report on a "savage" world that was exotically remote for his readers, full of paradisiacal, erotic and cannibal possibilities. Typee (1846) was a hit, taking him into New York literary society,

and he married on the strength of it. "Enviably Herman! A happier dog it is impossible to imagine," wrote one reviewer, enjoying his relaxed tone about sexuality; but his attacks on insensitive missionaries made an enemy of the powerful Protestant press, which deplored his "pamphlet on cannibal delights" and accused him of sexual corruption.

His subsequent narratives moved more deeply and darkly towards fiction and art: shifting from realism to allegory and satire — risking his popularity and his family's well-being. A mixed reception drove him back to more straightforward "jobs" — Redburn and White-Jacket (both 1849). But after a stimulating trip to London he began on *Moby-Dick*, torn by what he called his "earnest desire to write those sort of books which are said to 'fail'". Parker's last section, rousing and disturbing at once, shows a reckless Melville, diving into himself after his *White Whale* — away from social responsibilities. Like his implacably optimistic father, he swam profoundly into debt without telling his wife, buying a house and staking all on the fate of a book he yet kept not finishing ("The tail is not yet cooked").

The "Polar wind" of Melville's tragic inspiration carries Parker to a provisional happy ending, the presentation of the printed *Moby-Dick* to its dedicatee, Hawthorne, in 1851. But with *Pierre*, Bartleby, Melville's poetry and Billy Budd to come, Volume Two promises to be just as tense, enlightening and weirdly addictive.

Tribulations of a Titanic soul

Karl Miller

Pierre, or The Ambiguities
by Herman Melville
ed. Herschel Parker
HarperCollins 449pp £15.99

MELVILLE'S *Pierre*, or *The Ambiguities* is a good book which is also a bad one — good and bad not just in parts, like the curate's egg, but at the same time too. This paradox can be considered one of the novel's many ambiguities. Few books are more mysterious.

It was completed when *Moby-Dick* was displacing both his public and his publishers, and *Pierre*, published in 1852, was to do the same. Religious objections were after him, and the new

novel was roundly denounced. In the story, pastoral gentilities are overtaken by ominous romantic ardours. A preposterous Anglo-American Arcadia, with its leafy village and "manorial mansion", is deserted for an austere bohemian life in the big city.

Pierre starts off engaged to lovely blonde Lucy, while addressing his "amaranthine" mother as if she were his sister. He then discovers his half-sister, or quasi-sister, Isabel, a dark and equivocal child of nature. He and Isabel run away, and they are joined by Lucy, who has pledged herself to be Pierre's priestess. The threesome are turfed into a "murdersome" finale. The adjective belongs to a

jargon so high-flown as to suggest, and to seem at times intended to suggest, parody. Isabel babbles of "the stupor, and the torpor, and the blankness, and the dimness, and the vacant whirlingness of the bewilderingness". It's as if Melville wanted to offend his readers, while also trying to placate them by offering a version of popular Gothic romance.

But Pierre is a moving and compelling book. It belongs to the great tradition of romantic delirium, looking forward to the kind of novel that D.H. Lawrence wrote, in which ego-based fictional characters cede ground to the play of unconscious forces. Pierre is a "Titanic soul", and he is also a sympathetic character — so far as he is a character at all, and so far as Titanic souls are ever likely to be sympathetic.

New Fiction

Lucy Atkins

The Giant's House, by Elizabeth McCracken (Cape, £9.99)

McCRACKEN is one of Granta's Best of Young American Novelists 1996 and this is her first novel. It tells the tale of loner librarian (Peggy) who finds love, with an original twist. The love object is James, an 11-year-old "Giant". As he grows up into an eight-foot adult, their friendship blossoms into love. The atmosphere is tender and funny, narrated by Peggy, and characters emerge as complex individuals each struggling to come to terms with the pressures of society, family and, most of all, their own expectations. McCracken avoids schmaltz and her prose bounces along with enough irony and defiance to carry off this strange tale of love and loss.

Magdalena the Sinner, by Lilian Feschinger, trans. Shaun Whiteside (Headline Review, £12.99)

MAGDALENA, lithe sexpot in leather jumpsuit driving a Puch bike and sidecar, kidnaps a priest, ties him to a tree and forces him to hear her "confession". She tells him about the seven boyfriends she's had, and how and why she's been forced to murder each. The priest is seduced first by her story, then her body — becoming the unwitting number eight. The novel successfully teeters along a tightrope of tension, humour and fable.

In the Hold, by Vladimir Arsenijevic, trans. Celia Hawkesworth (Harvill, £8.99)

BELGRADE 1991 on the brink of self-destruction — the narrator's heroin-dealing wife is pregnant, most of his friends have died or are about to (Aids, drugs, cancer, war) and he doesn't know what to do with his life. Arsenijevic takes his subject matter, and peers at it from unusual angles. The result is not an earnest documentation of contemporary horrors but a look at the personal and also universal effects of such conflicts. Belgrade is closing off from the rest of Europe and fear seeps into everyday preoccupations. Gradually the narrator and his wife, like the city they inhabit, slide further into isolation. A fascinating and poignant first novel.

Bank Holiday Monday, by Henry Sutton (Sceptre, £15.99)

THE unashamedly Woolfian narrative technique makes this rather like *The Waves* on speed — his stream of consciousness narrative shifts incessantly between six middle-class characters on a weekend break to a Norfolk windmill. As with Woolf, very little takes place outside of the psycho-dramas of each troubled protagonist. Desire and need conflict, as do memories and hopes, the private past, present and future of each character. An intriguing, if uncomfortable, read.

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In search of paradise lost

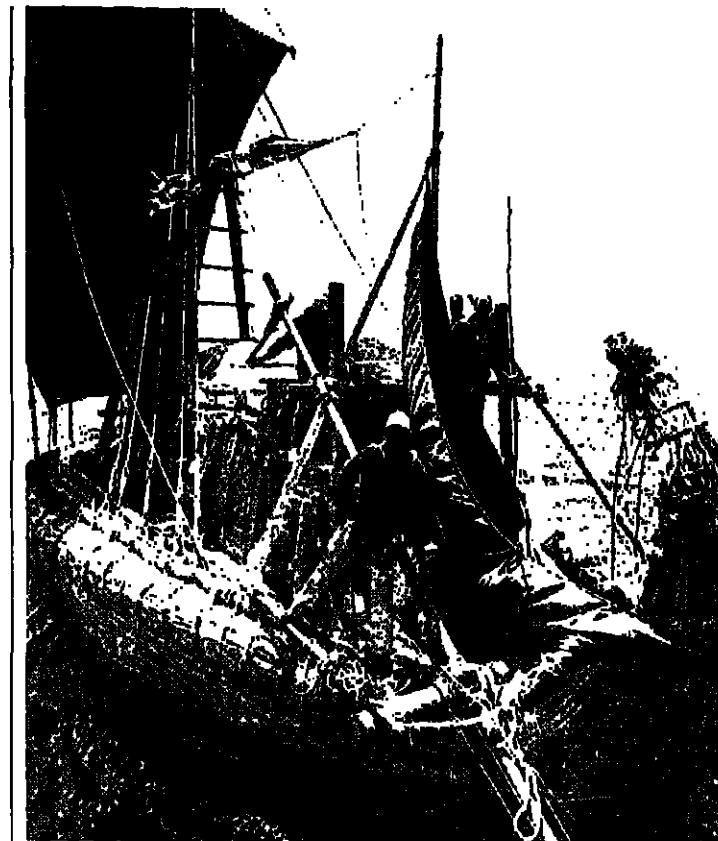
Alexander Frater

Green Was the Earth on the Seventh Day
by Thor Heyerdahl
Little Brown 308pp £18.99

THOR HEYERDAHL, who first drifted into the world's consciousness on a balsa-wood raft, has written an interesting, unexpected book about a youthful adventure on a South Sea island. Indeed, it was there — only a few miles from the hauntingly beautiful spot where Gauguin lies buried — that he came up with the idea of building Kon-Tiki and launching himself off along the Humboldt current. With his 20-year-old bride Liv, he had left Oslo one arctic Christmas morning to honeymoon on the remote Marquesas island of Fatu-Hiva. What made these newlyweds different was that they had no intention of ever coming back. Sick of Europe in the turbulent thirties, they had chosen Fatu-Hiva for its isolation and emptiness, arrived with a few clothes, a cooking pot and a machete. Fire was made by rubbing hibiscus twigs together, limitless fresh water, wild vegetables, fruit and fish came with the territory.

Heyerdahl starts his book thus: "Paradise, fact or fiction? Dream or reality? Lost behind us or tantalisingly ahead?" Well, paradise for some is a place where nobody writes stuff like that, but for Heyerdahl it lay in the shifting tracks of the Central Pacific — a notion reinforced when, during his first week ashore, he met a trader who sold him Paul Gauguin's gun.

Now the owners of a totem from Polynesia's most celebrated castaway, he and Liv embarked on their own idyll. Yet it soon soured. The natives turned hostile, unceasing



Thor Heyerdahl aboard Ra 1 in 1969 which he sailed across the Atlantic from Morocco to within 600 miles of Central America

rain depressed them, the ubiquitous mozzies spread malaria and elephantiasis, while Liv sustained scratches on the legs which turned into full-blown tropical ulcers. Treatment required a hellish open-boat journey to nearby Hiva-oa. Gauguin's island — Heyerdahl clutching Gauguin's talismanic gun throughout — which boasted a dispensary and native dresser. When I visited Hiva-oa several years ago I found, in place of the dispensary, a

small hospital run by an entertaining young French doctor.

Treating me (for a scalp wound) incurred by a low-slung Marquesan roof beam, he said: "Gauguin expired just down the road from here. To ensure he was dead, the man who found him followed local custom and bit his head — producing a contusion very similar to your own." The French were present back in the thirties too, a gendarme confiscating Gauguin's ancient, rust-

encrusted fowling piece because Heyerdahl had no firearms licence. Now their influence is even more pronounced: deep in the rain forest I found Polynesian families seated around a tree, government-issue, colour TV sets, watching the news from Paris.

Pottering about as Liv gradually convalesced, Heyerdahl came upon a giant stone statue and realised he had seen pictures of identical carvings in Colombia — the nearest land to the east.

Polynesia, according to all the best minds, was supposed to have remained isolated until the arrival of the first Europeans; the statue, though, plainly pre-dated them. So how had the sculptor got there? Thus was the notion of Kon-Tiki hatched — and with it the realisation that he and Liv couldn't remain exiled for ever. Returning to Fatu-Hiva, they found the hostile locals suddenly turning murderous and, making a breathless, helter-skelter over-the-mountains escape, hid in a cave until the schooner came.

But here's the catch. In 1974, Heyerdahl wrote another book, *Is It? Fatu-Hiva*. Though not listed among his credits in this volume he acknowledges it, obliquely, on p.256 — "These were the last words in the book I wrote on my return from Fatu-Hiva." The jacket blurb claims: "based on his original journals" but doesn't mention the original book.

Well, it's out of print now and, since no journalist would deny a man's right to recycle his own material, I won't carp. And there's certainly much additional good stuff on his life, theories and subsequent journeys.

Paradise itself here with a cap P, turns out to be the planet itself. He is its staunch environmental crusader. And it all worked out in the end: the world he had fled would, ironically, claim him back as one of its most admired figures.

What the ape taught Adam

Katy Emok

The Woman and the Ape
by Peter Hoeg
Harvill 228pp £15.99 (£9.99 pbk)

THERE has always been an animal quality to Peter Hoeg's novels. In his new novel, *The Woman and the Ape*, animal intelligence becomes his main theme. Unfortunately, unlike the delicacy of Miss Smilla's Feeling For Snow, it's done with brushstrokes so broad that the animals come off looking a bit duff.

The novel is about what happens when Natural Man is unleashed on London. A remarkably humanoid ape escapes from captivity only to be recaptured by Adam Burden, an unscrupulous animal researcher who keeps the suffering creature in his own home for medical experiments. Adam masquerades as a man who has animal welfare at heart. But he is really an ambitious politician who is using the ape to cement his claim to the Directorship of London Zoo.

Hoeg attaches an environmentally-minded love story to this tale of exploitation. The ape — called Erasmus — exercises a strange compulsion on Burden's lonely, alcoholic wife, Madeline. He's a sight more sympathetic than her husband. She pities the ape and sets him free. The hirsute Erasmus then proceeds — quite literally — to sweep her off her feet. He carries her to an animal reserve up north, "a pornographic

garden of Eden" where, in an embarrassing blend of Mills and Boon and bestiality, he proves to be a "sensitive but ruthless" lover.

At this point Madeline loses all credibility. Up till now she's been the best character in the book, a 90 per cent-proof-alcohol-swigging housewife who is redeemed from her drunken fug by the sympathy she feels for another trapped creature. But Hoeg's prose slackens as he jacks up the "fun" element. Animal therapy brings out the tantric nature poet in Madeline. Not content with cosmic sex, her English lessons with the increasingly human Erasmus concentrate on "the bawdy element in language". Schoolboy humour does not sit easily with the sentimentality.

They return to London because they get bored in Paradise. Erasmus dons clothing and becomes the Blues brother of the ape world in a jacket, felt hat and sunglasses.

Hoeg's serious message is undermined by his flip attitude to the story. Part of the problem is that he seems to have thought of his message and then pinned a tale to it. Moreover, the gist — that humans have more animal nature than they like to think and animals are more intelligent than humans — is driven home with a wearisome insistency.

The Woman and the Ape forgoes subtlety and depth for cartoon fabulism that diminishes the animal in the human and the human in the animal.

How to become a freelance writer

by NICK DAWS

Freelance writing can be creative, fulfilling and a lot of fun, with excellent money to be made as well. What's more, anyone can become a writer. No special qualifications or experience are required.

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Tennis Australian Open

Sun sets on Graf

Stephan Blarley in Melbourne

THERE is no greater fall in women's Grand Slam tennis than that of Steffi Graf. For more than a decade, save for one wretchedly gloomy and dank summer's day at Wimbledon in 1994, the German has never turned up in Melbourne, London, Paris or New York without making it through to the second week. And more often than not she has reached the final.

But on Sunday, on an afternoon when the heat was so intense on the centre court that it seemed as if a hundred thousand oven doors had been opened simultaneously, Graf lost 6-2, 7-5 in the fourth round to Amanda Coetzer of South Africa, the No 12 seed, who ranks 26th in the world.

Graf had been feeling unwell before the match because of an infected toe which was treated on Saturday. She was too exhausted to talk after the match, and a written statement said that the high temperatures had exacerbated her condition resulting in "heat illness".

There were few indications during the early part of the match that there was anything physically wrong with Graf, although in the second set she frequently moved towards the back of the court between points to gain what little shade there was. She received brief attention from the trainer but thereafter Coetzer became ever more dominant. Some of Graf's mistakes were unforced, but many were not. Coetzer pounded away relentlessly and the backhand error that eventually saw Graf succumb was her 20th of the 1hr 28min match, a huge number.

In her post-match statement Graf praised Coetzer, adding: "I tried as hard as I could. I just didn't have the energy with the heat." Boris Becker had expressed similar problems after the reigning champion lost on the opening day of the tournament. A bad tournament for Germany.



Heat stroke... Graf wilts against Amanda Coetzer. PHOTO: MICHAEL STEELE

On Saturday the No 2 seed, Arantxa Sanchez Vicario, also lost, going down to the little-known Belgian Dominique van Roost 1-6, 6-4, 8-6, and there were further upsets over the weekend with the disappearance of the No 3 seed, Conchita Martinez, the No 5 Anke Huber, and the No 7, the American Lindsay Davenport, thus paving the way for a first Grand Slam title for the 16-year-old Hingis, seeded four.

Martinez fell after taking the first set 6-2 against Sabine Appelmans of Belgium, and Huber lost in straight sets to Mary Pierce, the 1995 champion here, who has been playing with increasing confidence and slightly diminished affection.

In the men's fourth-round, little-known Slovakian teenager Dominik Hrbaty took world No 1 Pete Sampras to five sets with some exciting play, despite the searing heat, before succumbing 6-4 in the final set.

Other fourth-round victors were Michael Chang, conqueror of Britain's Tim Henman, Carlos Moyá, Felix Mantilla and the dangerous Marcelo Ríos, who was due to face Chang in the quarter-finals.

Football Premiership: Coventry 0 Manchester United 2

Ferguson ready for final flourish

David Lacey

ALEX FERGUSON can see the finishing line to his career as manager of Manchester United. But between now and then his team will surely experience a few more chequered flags.

The Champions Cup remains Ferguson's outstanding ambition, and the visit of Porto to Old Trafford on March 5 in the opening leg of the quarter-finals will offer a valuable clue as to the likelihood of that ambition being fulfilled this season. In the meantime, United will concentrate their efforts on banking a sufficient number of Premiership points to set against a possible European failure.

Ferguson has thought aloud about stepping down as manager when his contract expires in three years' time. Ideally, therefore, he needs United to be competing regularly in the Champions League from now on.

They can do this by becoming European champions, by retaining

their Premiership title or by qualifying as runners-up for next season's preliminary round of the expanded 24-club Champions League. The middle option looks the safest bet.

An unbeaten run of 11 league games, seven of which have been won, has left United snapping at the heels of Liverpool, the Premiership leaders. United are two points behind with a match in hand and in no hurry to don the yellow jersey. The pressure is on Liverpool to sustain the pace.

At Highfield Road on Saturday, United achieved their sixth victory in seven games with what, for their rivals, was an ominously stress-free performance. The dark hours of October and November, when Ferguson's team lost five matches out of seven, including home Champions League defeats by Fenerbahce and Juventus, seemed to belong to another age.

United currently are enjoying a spell peppered with spectacular goals. On the hour a half-hearted tackle by Taffer offered Giggs a

shooting opportunity from near the left-hand corner of the penalty area that he accepted with a rare right-foot shot into the top far corner of the net.

It was Giggs's first league goal for four months. He should be scoring more. Later, the Welshman shot wide after Poborsky and Solskjaer had created a much simpler chance for him. A week earlier, he had missed a similar opportunity at Tottenham.

Ferguson will not be too concerned so long as goals continue to arrive from somewhere. Solskjaer completed United's victory 11 minutes from the end after Cantona, having completed an untidy exchange of passes with Giggs, toe-ended the ball to him.

In United's last two games Cantona's influence has started to reassert itself. If the mercurial Frenchman begins to rediscover the target with last season's unerring regularity, then Liverpool will need a prolific response from their own talismanic figure, Robbie Fowler.

Sports Diary Mike Kiely

Beyond our Ken?

EXIT Kevin Keegan, enter Kenny Dalglish. Not content with filling the former Liverpool No 7 boots once, 45-year-old Dalglish has once again followed in his footsteps, this time assuming the role of Newcastle United manager that Keegan had relinquished seven days before. The ex-Liverpool and Blackburn boss who lifted the championship trophy at both clubs now has his sights on a record-breaking third title with a different club. Whether this is possible, given the St James' Park side's habit of conceding as many goals, if not more, than they score must be in doubt.

IF BOTTOM of the table Middlesbrough thought things could not get any worse, then the deduction of three points by the Premier League following the club's decision to pull out of its fixture at Blackburn in December, only 24 hours before kick-off, must have deepened the air of despondency at the Teesside club. Boro had based their defence on medical evidence that their squad had been devastated by illness.

THE FOOTBALL bribes trial finally got under way in Winchester, with Bruce Grobbelaar, John Fashanu and Hans Segers in the dock to answer accusations that they were involved in a betting syndicate paying out huge sums of money in return for fixing results. Fashanu is alleged to have acted as the middleman between the gamblers and the goalkeepers: Grobbelaar, formerly of Liverpool and Southampton; and Segers, the ex-Wimbledon star. Joining the three in the dock was Malaysian businessman Heng Suan Lim, said to be the syndicate's UK representative.

ENGLAND'S build-up to this week's first Test in Auckland was given a boost when they defeated a New Zealand XI by an innings and 113 runs. The match in Palmerston North was notable for a vastly improved bowling performance by England, particularly the five for 58 notched up by Phil Tufnell. England subsequently defeated a Northern districts XI in Hamilton by 10 wickets.

Football results

FA CARLING PREMIERSHIP Arsenal 3, Everton 1; Chelsea 3, Derby 1; Coventry 0, Man Utd 2; Leicester 1, Wimbledon 0; Liverpool 3, Aston Villa 0; Middlesbrough 4, Sheffield Wednesday 2; Nottingham Forest 2, Tottenham 1; Southampton 2, Newcastle 2; Sunderland 0, Blackburn 0; West Ham 0, Leeds 2. **Leading positions:** 1, Liverpool (played 24 points 46); 2, Man Utd (23-44); 3, Arsenal (23-43).

NATIONWIDE LEAGUE First Division Barnsley 1, Ipswich 2; Birmingham 4, Reading 1; Bolton 3, Wolves 0; Charlton 1, Sligo 2; Crystal Palace 1, Portsmouth 2; Huddersfield 1, Man City 1; Norwich 2, Grimsby 1; Oxford 2, Tranmere 1; Port Vale 4, QPR 4; Sheffield Utd 3, Scunthorpe 0; Swindon 1, Bradford 1; West Brom 1, Oldham 1. **Leading positions:** 1, Bolton (29-68); 2, Sheffield Utd (27-49); 3, Barnsley (27-47).

Second Division Brentford 0, Bristol City 0; Bristol Rovers 1, York 1; Blackpool 1, Crewe 2; Luton 0, Wrexham 0; Notts County 1, Gillingham 1; Peterborough 0, Plymouth 0; Preston 1, Weymouth 1; Rotherham 2, Wycombe 1; Shrewsbury 2, Chesterfield 0; Stockport 3, Millwall 1; Walsell 2, Bournemouth 1; Burnley 3, Bury 1. **Leading positions:** 1, Brentford (27-61); 2, Luton (26-47); 3, Bristol City (27-44).

Third Division Colchester 1, Carlisle 1; Darlington 2, Cambridge 0; Exeter 0, Wigan 1; Hartlepool 2, Doncaster 4; Lincoln 2, Brighton 1;

RUGBY League may lose another of its biggest stars to union following Bobbie Goulding's request to leave St Helens. The Great Britain scrum-half will be much in demand after leading the Lancashire side to victory in the inaugural Super League last season. Goulding said: "I am not shutting the door on rugby league... but I have to listen to offers from union because I would love to play the game." If Goulding moves, it may result in the current rugby league transfer record — centre Paul Newlove from St Helens to Bradford for £500,000 — being smashed.

PETER Radford is to leave his £70,000-a-year post as chief executive of the British Athletic Federation. A number of English clubs were reportedly preparing a vote of no confidence in Radford at the BAF annual meeting in March.

THE 1995 World Rally champion, Colin McRae, began his bid to win back his title in Monte Carlo on Sunday, aware that questions had been raised over his driving following several accidents last season. His team, Subaru, has replaced co-driver Derek Ringer with Welshman Nicky Grist. Even so, McRae believes the odds favour rival Tommi Makinen retaining the title: "I would say that Tommi will be the quickest again."

THE rematch between World Boxing Association heavy-weight champion Evander Holyfield and Mike Tyson, scheduled for May 3 in Las Vegas, will not be the title holder between \$30 million and \$40 million, with the challenger having to settle for around \$20 million.

IN SYDNEY, Tim Henman received some sound advice on handling the pressure of being a teen idol: following his defeat by the British No 1, Frenchman Guillaume Raoux commented: "If Tim doesn't start taking drugs or going out drinking every night, he will go very high." In other words, more SW19 than East 17.

Shiv Sharma is on holiday

Rugby Union Five Nations Championship: Scotland 19 Wales 34

Welsh get off to a flyer

Ian Mallin at Murrayfield

ARWEL THOMAS'S smile was as wide as Carmarthen Bay. "It's nice to see there is a fly-half debate outside Wales," he joked. The decision to throw the slightly built Thomas back into the maelstrom of the Five Nations Championship was fully vindicated on Saturday: who will be next elected to No 10 in Scotland, however, is open to question.

The clamour north of the border will be for Gregor Townsend to be restored there for the next match, against England, and, intriguingly, for Alan Tait to return at centre after his spell in rugby league. Tait, now at Newcastle, was outstanding in Scotland's 56-11 thumping of Emerging Wales the day before this surprise result. Wales's first victory at Murrayfield for 12 seasons.

Arthur Hastie, Scotland's manager, said: "The selection committee had recommended Alan Tait for the A team game. He played very well at Goldenacre and he will be considered."

Perhaps Craig Chalmers's exit three minutes from time will mark a painful end to his career as Scotland's most capped fly-half. Certainly Townsend, the best player in Britain, looked wasted in the centre. Welsh hearts were in mouths when he was occasionally brought into the attack, but Scott Gibbs's crunching tackle on him in the opening minute set the tone; for the most part the Wales midfield was dominant.

That Wales can now dream of a

Triple Crown, with home games against Ireland and England to come, was chiefly down to their scrum, the panache of Thomas and the return of their rugby league exiles, who added steel to the cause. Dai Young was the cornerstone of the scrum, Gibbs and Allan Bateman were rock-like in defence and, most strikingly, the No 8 Scott Quinnell put his contractual problems behind him with a storming performance.

Wales's first-half try, the first of four, brought three of these exiles into play and summed up a new-found spirit of adventure. Gareth Llewellyn won a line-out and Wales moved the ball swiftly. Gibbs passed to Bateman, who made the telling break, dummied, and found Gibbs in support before Quinnell ran in the try from 12 metres with Tony Stanger hanging from him.

But it was the performance of Arwel Thomas that provided the game with its most heart-warming subplot. Thomas can erase his nightmare in Dublin last season when Ireland came to Cardiff at the beginning of next week. He snarled the backs, tackled like a flanker and scored a try of impudent brilliance.

This came in a six-minute patch of the deepest purple by the men in scarlet during the third quarter. Between Neil Jenkins and Iwan Evans rounding off sweeping moves, Robert Howley lofted a high kick deep into Scottish territory. Kenny Logan misjudged the bounce and tapped the ball to Thomas, who ran in the try beneath the posts

from 40 metres. So joyful was Thomas that he remembered to dab the ball down only just before the dead-ball line.

Rob Wainwright, Scotland's captain who performed manfully in an underpowered pack, pointed to the fact that they had won as much possession and that the game was lost only by poor concentration in those "unforgivable" minutes. "Arwel Thomas controlled the game. His kicking and passing were of the highest quality, but the whole Welsh side played with courage and commitment," he added.

Scotland badly missed the line-out work of Andy Reed after the lock limped off 15 minutes after half-time with a damaged knee, and next time out they face with trepidation a trip to Twickenham, where they have not won for 14 years. Apart from midfield and front-row problems, their back row needs to be sorted out too. Wainwright would be better utilised at No 6, with Eric Peters restored to No 8, where Peter Walton looked off the pace.

The Wales players, though, with their daffodils in the lapels of their jackets, were walking with a spring in their step on Saturday night. Jenkins's comment, "It looks like I'll be at full-back for a while with Arwel playing like that", was rueful but equally good-humoured. And to add a coda to a perfect afternoon, Jonathan Davies took the field almost unnoticed in the last minute for his first appearance in the Five Nations for nine years. In 1988 Wales won the Triple Crown. Omens everywhere.



Runway success... Arwel Thomas shows a clean pair of heels to register Wales's third try. PHOTOGRAPH ANDREW REED/REUTERS

Ireland 15 France 32

French fire outguns Irish

Robert Armstrong at Lansdowne Road

FRANCE's bruising four-try victory over Ireland has given substance to their belief that they will have a Grand Slam firmly in their sights after they have played England at Twickenham on March 1. Home games against Wales and Scotland either side of the England fixture ought to give *les tricolores* an excellent chance of unleashing the attacking firepower that ultimately did for Ireland with a salvo of 20 points in the final quarter.

David Venditti, the brilliant young Brive wing, recorded an opportunistic hat-trick of tries that spoke volumes for his ability to sniff out the line no matter how vigilant the defence. France may lack a world-class goalkicker, having decided to ignore Thierry Lacroix, but Thomas Castaignède landed three conversions and two penalty goals.

The key problem for Ireland is their home-based players' lack of exposure to regular top-class competition. Better that Ireland's 25 to 30 elite players join Courage League clubs to deepen their competitive focus than that the Irish RFU continues to make strenuous financial efforts to halt the exodus.

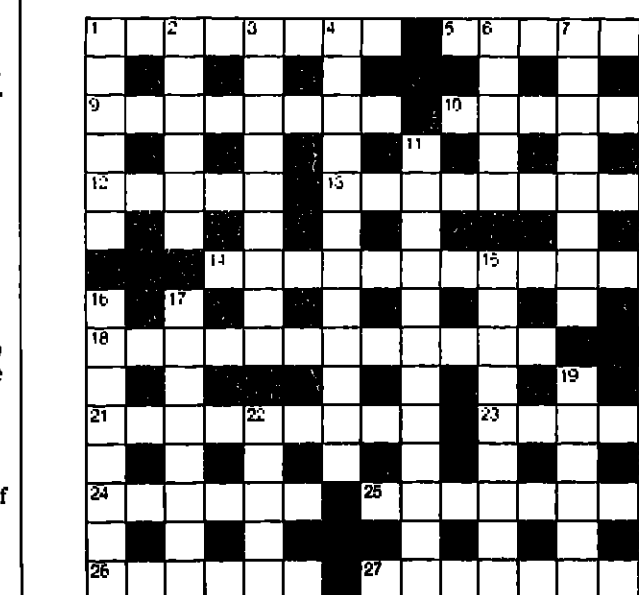
It would be unfair to suggest

that Ireland's creative deficiency was rooted in the contribution of their half-backs Hogan and Elwood, who moved the ball wide frequently enough to keep their backs in business. But Hogan's rather stately passing often made it difficult to exploit French frailties in defence, and Elwood's reluctance to make a straight, hard break usually allowed the French cover time to shepherd Irish runners into safe areas. For all that, Elwood's five penalty goals and his accurate kicking out of hand kept Irish hopes bubbling.

Ireland suffered the setback of an early short-range try by Galthié, and then Venditti plundered his first score courtesy of a pass by Galthié after 33 minutes, yet the French pack struggled throughout to gain the upper hand.

The ear-bashing their captain, Benazzi, gave his troops at half-time made little impression until Venditti took a short pass from Penaud on the hour and almost literally nosed his side in front 17-15. From then on Ireland slowly wilted and Castaignède added another eight points with the boot before Sadourny and Venditti combined slickly to put the wing over in injury time. Quixotically the Irish sent on a substitute, Flavin, for his first cap 11 seconds before the end.

Cryptic crossword by Shed



Across

- Old Egyptian river dump at centre of wharf (8)
- Reserves a place of disgrace (6)
- Get on with giant swamped by heartless media (8)
- Final remarks about the French scholar's body fluid (8)
- Versad in Spanish here, a diminutive archer (5)
- Contend with women and indicate the outlook (9)
- Where schoolwork's done on Queen in tax by volume (8,4)
- Jazzeled Mark Two interrupting old lover (7,5)

- Prelude to 'Knock on my Door' in waltz time (5-4)
- Honour a hog's head in necromantic practice (5)
- Crazy senora made sense (6)
- Expressing wish to work on comedian, gaining victory (8)
- Being smart, marry control bar (6)
- Dead watch in the year the gardens get swamped by water (4-4)

Down

- Father enters, moving fast, at head of church (6)

- Players introducing academic publishers to three odd characters (8)
- The usual trouble: brought up without morals, contradictory... (3)
- When cut, a heavyweight accepts one confident statement (12)
- Desecrated pulpit, beheaded flower (5)
- Unassailable right-winger moving in (4-4)
- Asks to wait, getting cross (8)
- Left one less diffident about chart of word-collecting (12)
- Girl to harp on about love and vanish (9)
- Secret 10 — open secret (8)
- Affected air and grace in bearing (8)
- Northern newpeople to cover old town (6)
- Photographer's cue in Thma Mousetrap? (6)
- Make off to the east with long strides (5)

Last week's solution

